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Iraq Tells U.S. It Will Use French Jets to Press Iran

By Don Oberdorfer

WASHINGTON — Iraq has informed the United States that it intends to use five new French warplanes to bring to a head its three-year war against Iran, an action that would create serious new risks to U.S. interests in the Gulf and to the world's oil supply.

The Iraqi decision to change the tempo and direction of the war, believed to have been made in Baghdad during the summer, was transmitted to officials in Washington in clear and forceful terms in recent weeks, according to State Department sources.

The knowledge of Iraq's intentions, as well as Iran's threats to retaliate by closing the Gulf to all oil shipping, had increased concern in the Reagan administration even before the news media reported that five Super Etendards, capable of firing Exocet air-to-surface missiles, left a French air base for Iraq on Friday.

Informal sources in Paris reported Sunday that the five jets had arrived in Iraq. The Associated Press reported.

Iran denied Sunday that it would close the strategic Strait of Hormuz, connecting the Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, if Iraq took delivery of French fighter bombers but said it would do so if Iran's oil exports were blocked. United Press International reported, quoting the official radio.

In anticipation of a new crisis in the Gulf, a battle group that includes the aircraft carrier Ranger was moved recently from Central America to the Indian Ocean. The British aircraft carrier Invincible has also arrived in the area. An official said the British fleet was likely to remain until February.

A State Department statement on Sept. 28, reiterating a statement of two months ago, said the United States "may view with grave concern" any attempt to interfere with commercial traffic in the Gulf, the world's most important artery of international oil commerce.

Earlier last month a U.S. interagency task force was set up to study, formulate and coordinate policy in case of more serious trouble. But the United States' limited

ability to affect the course of events is in sharp and painful contrast to the high stakes involved, officials said.

The initial weeks of the war, which began with an Iraqi attack on Iran in September 1980, created increased concern in Washington about the continued supply of petroleum through the Gulf. This led to the dispatch to Saudi Arabia of U.S. Air Force airborne warning and control system (AWACS) aircraft — which still remain on duty there — and the stepped-up deployment of naval forces in the area by the United States and its allies, including France.

Since then the war has claimed more than 100,000 lives, according to U.S. official estimates, and some unofficial estimates are that it has left as many as 250,000 dead.

After the failure of a "human wave" offensive in February of this year, Iran flinched briefly with the idea of a negotiated settlement but eventually settled down to a war of attrition against its smaller neighbor. "It has been almost like a medieval siege, and it has been hurting Iraq," a U.S. official said.

Because of war damage to its oil-loading facilities at the head of the Gulf and the cutoff of its Syrian oil pipeline by the antagonistic regime in Damascus, Iraq is able to export only about 700,000 barrels per day of its principal economic resource, compared with about five times as much before the war.

Moreover, in recent months Saudi Arabia and other Arab oil producers that support Iraq have reduced their subsidies to Baghdad from about \$12 billion a year to about \$6 billion because of financial difficulties caused by the world oil glut and weakening petroleum prices, according to a U.S. estimate.

The result is that Iraq's coffers have been depleted, its morale has been sapped and the regime in Baghdad has felt increasing strain. The leaders in Baghdad are reported to have calculated this summer that if these problems continue, they will lose the war to Iran, which is able to export more than two million barrels a day through the Gulf and is building its strength and international reserves.

"The Iraqis know that time is not on their side. They believe it is in their interest now to precipitate an end to the war," an official said. Another said that in recent conversations Iraq has made clear that the question is not whether to use enhanced military power to attack Iranian oil facilities, but when to do so.

Iraq's reasoning, as Washington officials understand it, is that attacks against Iran's oil export facilities at Kharg Island or other targets in the Gulf would subject Iraq to the same squeeze that Iraq faces. If Iran retaliates, as its leaders have threatened, by closing the entire Gulf to oil shipping, Iraq is said to believe that the West is likely to intervene to reopen the vital artery, bringing U.S. and European forces into direct clashes with Iraq.

France's foreign minister, Claude Cheysson, sidestepped questions Sunday on when the five jets had left France, where they had gone and why they had been delivered despite international pressure on France to reconsider the deal, Reuters reported from Paris.

He referred in a radio interview to "these planes which have perhaps been delivered, which have perhaps not been delivered."

Mr. Cheysson repeated that France's aim in selling the fighters was to give Iraq the leverage needed to force Iran to end the Gulf conflict through negotiations.

But while he said he took Iranian threats of reprisals against France and Western oil supplies seriously, he dismissed speculation that the delivery of the five fighters could provoke a new escalation of the war.

Iraqi ground forces and helicopter gunships attacked Iranian positions at the northeastern Iraqi town of Hij Oumrah and inflicted heavy losses, Baghdad Radio said Saturday, according to The Associated Press.

The radio, quoting a military statement, said a number of Iranian soldiers were killed in the attacks.



The Seoul ministers killed in Rangoon were, clockwise from top left, Suh Sang-chul, the energy minister, So Sok-chun, the commerce minister, Kim Dong-woo, the foreign minister.

U.S. May Bar Products Made in Soviet Camps

By Kenneth B. Noble

WASHINGTON — The commissioner of customs has recommended that three dozen products made in the Soviet Union be barred from the United States because he has reason to believe that they were made with the help of forced labor.

The commissioner, William W. Raab, said in a letter to Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan that he had information that "reasonably indicates" the products were manufactured with the help of prisoners of other forced labor. Any ban needs the approval of the Treasury Department.

There have been reports that Vietnamese and other Asians were among those being used as forced laborers in the Soviet Union, most recently in construction of the natural gas pipeline from the Soviet Union to Western Europe.

Those who saw copies of the Raab letter, dated Sept. 28, said it covered automobile parts, cathode-ray tube components, cabinets for radio and television sets, wire fences, camera lenses, mattresses, steel drums and barrels, electric motors, and clothing.

Although the value of these items has not been estimated, most government officials say they represent a fairly negligible portion of U.S.-Soviet trade.

Mr. Raab said that if his recommendation was followed, "customs officers will be instructed to withhold release of any such articles" imported from the Soviet Union.

The Treasury Department has sent Mr. Raab's recommendations to Secretary of State George P. Shultz. Mr. Shultz was said to have been furious over recommendations by an interagency export policy group last month that controls on exports to the Soviet Union be tightened.

Federal law bars the importing of items made "wholly, or in part, in any foreign country by convict

labor and/or forced labor." Government officials familiar with the issue say that the law has never been enforced.

In February, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, undersecretary of state for political affairs, said in a letter to Senator William L. Armstrong, a Colorado Republican, "It is well known that forced labor has been used on pipeline projects in the past and we have evidence that it is being used now, as well, in domestic pipeline construction."

Mr. Raab has been mentioned as a possible replacement for Lawrence J. Brady, an assistant secretary of commerce, who is an ardent opponent of trade with the Soviet Union.

Mr. Brady has been at the center of battles in the Reagan administration over trade sanctions that he and others proposed to punish Moscow, apparently in reaction to the Soviet downing of a South Korean airliner.

Mr. Brady recommended that the Reagan administration deny an export license sought by a subsidiary of the Hughes Tool Co. to sell \$40 million worth of oil exploration equipment to the Soviet Union.

That touched off a conflict in the administration over its trade policies. Currently, the administration restricts the sale of most high technology equipment to the Soviet Union. But the administration has permitted the sale of such pipeline construction equipment as conventional drilling rigs that involve less advanced technology.

Most recently, equipment to help lay pipelines has been removed from the restricted list.

Dennis Murphy, a customs service spokesman, said Friday: "We received a number of inquiries from a broad range of senators and representatives urging us to take action on this issue." He said that Mr. Armstrong "has met with the commissioner and has particularly urged custom service action."

Bomb in Burma Kills Key S. Korean Officials

The Associated Press

RANGOON, Burma — A bomb apparently meant for President Chun Doo Hwan of South Korea exploded at a memorial site here Sunday, killing four of his cabinet ministers, his ambassador to Burma and several of his highest aides.

The governments of Burma and South Korea said 16 South Koreans were killed by the explosion at the Martyr's Mausoleum in Rangoon minutes before Mr. Chun arrived for the ceremony.

They said at least 48 people were wounded, including two Burmese cabinet ministers and 15 high-ranking South Koreans.

South Korean officials accused North Korea of engineering the explosion, which devastated the senior leadership of Mr. Chun's government. It came on the first day of a scheduled 18-day presidential goodwill tour to six Asian nations.

Burmese and South Korean officials said Mr. Chun and his wife immediately flew back to Seoul, canceling the remainder of the trip. In Seoul, police sealed off the airport before the arrival and stopped reporters from entering.

Prime Minister Kim Sang-hyup held two emergency cabinet meetings in Seoul, decreed a national alert for the armed forces and sent an emergency medical team to Rangoon to care for the South Koreans wounded.

Witnesses and government accounts said Mr. Chun's car was three minutes from the memorial site, where he was to lay a wreath, when a tremendous explosion shattered the mausoleum's roof.

It was not clear what type of explosive was used, but South Korean press agencies said it may have been a time bomb planted in the ceiling of the one-story mausoleum north of the Burmese capital. Burmese leaders assassinated during 1947 civil disturbances are entombed in the memorial.

The assassination explosion incident against the presidential party was a disaster which has destroyed international political order in a single strike. Information Minister Lee Chin Hui said in Seoul.

He also said "we came to realize once again the true nature of North Korea as a barbarous international terrorist group."

President San Yu of Burma said the authorities from South Korea and Burma were investigating the blast and vowed that the bombers "shall not go unpunished."

In a statement broadcast on state radio, the Burmese president called the explosion a "premeditated and dastardly act of the terrorists who attempted to discredit and disrupt the harmonious and cordial relations" between Burma and South Korea. But he did not specifically accuse North Korea, which also has diplomatic relations with Burma.

The South Koreans offered no proof to support their accusations against North Korea. But they historically have accused the North of terrorist plots to destabilize the noncommunist system ever since the Korean peninsula was divided after World War II.

The explosion came at the start of what had been described as a significant journey for Mr. Chun, making his fourth overseas trip as president since he took over in 1980. His itinerary had included stops in India, Sri Lanka, Australia, New Zealand and Brunei.

All four Cabinet ministers accompanying Mr. Chun died in the explosion, according to Burmese and South Korean officials. They were Deputy Prime Minister So Sok Chun, 45, who also held the important post of head of the economic planning board; Foreign Minister Lee Bum Suk, 58, who had organized the visit; Kim Dong-woo, 51, commerce and industry minister, and Suh Sang-chul, energy and resources minister.

Other prominent victims were Kim Jae Ik, 45, a secretary for economic affairs, Lee Kai Chul, South Korea's ambassador to Burma, and Hahn Pyung Choon, chief presidential secretary who once served as ambassador to Washington.

Burma state radio said the wounded Burmese cabinet ministers were the deputy minister for culture, U Than Maung, and the information and culture minister, U Aung Kyaw Myint. Lee Ki Back, chairman of South Korea's joint chiefs of staff, was reported seriously injured.

In Washington, a State Department spokesman said the Reagan administration was "shocked and saddened" by the explosion. A White House spokesman said it would not affect President Ronald Reagan's plans to visit South Korea next month.

In 1968, a North Korean squad of commandos penetrated Seoul and moved within blocks of the presidential mansion then occupied by President Park Chung Hee before security agents killed them.

In 1974, Mr. Park's wife was killed by shots fired by a Korean resident of Japan in an assassination attempt on her husband. The gunman was said to have been a North Korean supporter.

Reagan Policy Toward Soviet Union Colored by Pragmatism and Politics

By Leslie H. Gelb

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan's policy toward the Soviet Union is becoming highly pragmatic, seriously confused or heavily political, depending on who is doing the explaining.

During the last three months, he has condemned Moscow for masterminding revolution in Central America, using the Syrians to create turmoil in Lebanon, and barbarously shooting down the South Korean passenger airliner.

In the same period, Mr. Reagan has approved a big grain agreement in which he pledged not to embargo

presidential campaign and that arms treaties with Moscow would soften his hawkish image.

Officials are also well aware that congressional support for increasing military spending would lessen if there were no visible efforts at achieving arms control.

It is also true that the White House feels that simultaneous bipartisan backing for more arms and for arms control is the best way to bargain with Moscow.

Mr. Reagan's way of getting this backing, by all accounts, was simply to tell his reluctant aides last week essentially to accept the new strategic arms ideas of a few key legislators and members of his Commission on Strategic Forces.

The result was a grafting of the administration's initial tough approach onto a quite different and more conciliatory one.

The history of the administration's arms control policies has become a kind of metaphor for this mixture of pragmatism, politics and confusion.

The administration brought people to power who never tried to hide their conviction that Soviet leaders lie, cheat and seek world domination. These officials feel that their time in office has only confirmed their worst fears. But in almost all other respects, their deeds have not fit their early words.

At first, they maintained that the Soviet Union had strategic superiority and that Washington could not negotiate until new weapons were deployed and a balance achieved.

Then several months ago and before any new weapons had been deployed or the presumed imbalance righted, these officials began to say the necessary momentum in new weapons programs had been achieved and that was sufficient.

They labeled the unwritten treaty on strategic arms as practically treasonous, yet promised to observe it and ended up accusing the Soviet Union of violating it.

They insisted on a policy of "linkage," meaning that (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Watt Quits Under Senate Pressure, Says He Can No Longer Aid Reagan

United Press International

SANTA YNEZ, California — Interior Secretary James G. Watt resigned Sunday, culminating a 24-year career after he created an embarrassment for the Reagan administration with a derogatory remark he made about minority groups.

Mr. Watt, 45, told reporters outside the ranch where he has been vacationing since Wednesday that he had sent a letter to President Ronald Reagan saying he believed his "usefulness to the administration has come to an end."

Pressure for Mr. Watt's resignation has been growing since he said that an advisory panel was made up of a black, a woman, two Jews and a cripple.

Source: have said he had been considering resigning rather than face an almost certain vote of no-confidence in the Republican-controlled Senate next week.

Mr. Watt said he had accomplished the goals he set when he came to Washington and said the U.S. environment was better man-



James G. Watt

"With this letter, I ask permission to be relieved of my duties as secretary of the interior as soon as a successor is confirmed," the letter said.

Mr. Watt was forced to resign because of Republican fears that he had become a major political liability to Mr. Reagan's re-election prospects.

At least 10 Republican senators had called for his resignation, and the action by Senate Democrats in making it party policy to call for his removal assured an unfavorable vote on the resolution asking his resignation.

Those reportedly under consideration for the post include: former House Republican leader John I. Rhodes of Arizona; Representative Manuel Lujan of New Mexico, the top Republican on the House Interior Committee; James Buckley, former Republican senator of New York and now president of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty; Energy Secretary Donald P. Hodel, and former Senator Clifford Hansen, Republican Wyoming.

aged and the country's energy resources more successfully handled.

Mr. Watt and his wife, Lillian, rode down on horseback to meet with reporters. Mr. Watt gave out the one-page typed letter he had had hand-delivered to the White House. It was signed, "Jim."

Foes of Arafat, Supported by Syria, Say They Can Drive Him From PLO

By Thomas L. Friedman

New York Times Service

BEIRUT — In the last two weeks the Syrian-backed rebels seeking to overthrow Yasser Arafat as the Palestinian guerrilla leader feel they have gained the upper hand.

"We have won the first round, and the majority of the civilian and military cadres in al-Fatah are now on our side," the leader of the rebels, Colonel Sayed Abu Musa, said at a news conference Friday in Baalbek in the Bekaa, Lebanon's eastern valley.

"We are now able to direct the battle, and Yasser Arafat can only make statements detrimental to the Palestinian cause," he said. "Arafat and a few weak followers are now hiding in densely populated areas in Tripoli, making the same mistakes they made in south Lebanon, Beirut and Jordan."

Aided by Mr. Arafat's inability to rally any significant popular or Arab government support behind him, the rebels now seem to be preparing to drive Mr. Arafat out of his last major stronghold in Lebanon — around the northern Lebanese port of Tripoli — and replace him as leader of the Palestinian movement.

If the rebels succeed in toppling

Mr. Arafat, virtually the entire Palestinian guerrilla movement will then be under Syrian domination.

In Tripoli, the pro-Arafat loyalists have erected their barricades around their camps and placed machine guns on almost every corner, vowing to make what the local press has already called "Arafat's last stand" in Lebanon.

Colonel Ziad Atrash, the commander of the pro-Arafat fighters thrown out of the Bekaa by Syria two weeks ago, said his men left peacefully because they knew they could withdraw to Tripoli.

"But now," he said, "the Syrians are before us and the sea is behind us and we would rather fight than drown."

(Ahmed Abdel-Rahman, Mr. Arafat's official spokesman, said Sunday that Rifaa al-Assad, brother of the Syrian president and commander of the elite Special Forces, had undertaken to try to heal the rift in the PLO, Reuters reported from Beirut.)

But the spokesman, speaking by telephone from Tripoli, said that, far from relaxing the siege, the Syrians moved more dissident Palestinian guerrillas into the Tripoli area on Saturday.

How long Mr. Arafat's supporters could hold out, if it comes to a

battle, is not clear. Although the opposition to Mr. Arafat is Syrian-supported, it has been fed from the start by the widespread discontent within the ranks of the Palestine Liberation Organization at Mr. Arafat's unwillingness to acknowledge that last year's war with Israel was a defeat and required sweeping changes within the movement, Palestinian sources say.

Almost every day for the last two weeks, a spokesman for the rebels in Damascus has been announcing new defections by Fatah guerrillas who were once loyal to Mr. Arafat.

The rebels, aided by Syrian troops, have been steadily chipping away at Mr. Arafat's base of support in Lebanon since May 17, when the revolt began.

In the middle of September, however, the revolt against the PLO leader gathered new momentum. The Syrians permitted the rebels to join the Druze militia in its battle with the Lebanese Army and Phalangist militia for control of the Chuf Mountains southeast of Beirut.

Mr. Arafat is said to have been concerned that the rebels' involvement on the Druze side in the mountain war might have made them seem more active than his own forces, who were aloof from



Yasser Arafat, chairman of the PLO, sits on a bed in a Palestinian refugee camp in northern Lebanon, where guerrillas loyal to him have been driven by the Syrian Army.

the fighting. So, on Sept. 17, Mr. Arafat risked Syria's wrath and returned to Syrian-controlled north Lebanon by boat to show that he and his men were also taking a prominent role in the mountain battle.

On Sept. 24, the Syrians appear to have decided to block Mr. Arafat's bid to capitalize on the Chuf fighting and to eradicate his influ-

ence over the Fatah fighters in Lebanon once and for all. They began by issuing an order to 1,000 of Mr. Arafat's followers around the Beirut-Damascus highway town of Shatira to leave the area for the Hermel region in the far northeast corner of Lebanon, which they did.

From Hermel many of these guerrillas eventually found their way to the Badawi and Nahr al

Bared refugee camps near Tripoli, which, along with Baalbek, were described by Mr. Arafat last week as his last independent bases of operation in Lebanon.

"This is not a picnic," Mr. Arafat said in Tripoli. The Syrians "are preparing for something serious. I expect an attack in the next few days. It's a serious Syrian-American deal to liquidate the PLO."

Tories Report Infiltration by U.K. Rightists

The Associated Press

LONDON — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party has been infiltrated by rightist extremists, a party report said Sunday, after the Conservatives had been embarrassed by the love affair of a cabinet member.

The report by the Conservative's youth wing cited more than a dozen cases of former members of the National Front, a rightist extremist group, running on Conservative tickets in local elections.

When news surfaced of the report, the party announced that it was tightening selection procedures for parliamentary candidates.

The report was commissioned by the former party chairman, Cecil Parkinson, 58, who is Mr. Thatcher's trade and industry secretary. Mr. Parkinson's love affair with his former secretary, who is pregnant, has led some party members to say they would seek his resignation at the Conservatives' annual conference starting Tuesday.

In a statement Sunday, Mrs. Thatcher reiterated her support for Mr. Parkinson, saying, "There is no change in the position. The question of resignation does not arise."

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San Marino Affirms Its Traditions: Democracy, Amiability

By Henry Kamm
New York Times Service

SAN MARINO — Two applicants, one a Communist and the other a Socialist, took their places recently in a line of succession, unbroken since at least the year 1244, of elected consuls who have governed this last surviving Italian city-state, which also likes to call itself the world's oldest republic.

The line to which 37-year-old Renzo Renzi, a Communist since he was 17, and Germano de Biagi, a 34-year-old Socialist, succeeded Saturday, taking the place of two physicians, is long not only because it is more than 700 years old but also because San Marino has maintained its democratic government at the cost of letting no one rule alone or for very long.

The walls in the Palazzo Valloni, where foreign and local dignitaries paid homage to the new captains-regent, are covered with the names of their predecessors beginning in 1244 and proceeding from 1360 onward without a break. It takes spacious walls to keep this record, because San Marino always has two captains-regent at a time and changes both every six months.

Maria Antonietta Bonelli, a civil servant and historian who runs the Foreign Ministry, said there was evidence that even before 1244 this republic was governed by two consuls, but the first recorded names date to 1244. San Marino traces its history to the year 300, when St.

Marino sailed across the Adriatic Sea from his native Dalmatia and founded a Christian community on three-peak Mount Titano.

The 23,000 inhabitants of San Marino remain almost uniformly Roman Catholic, but among some the religious spirit has largely vanished, leaving form without content. At the Mass that is a high point in the inauguration of the captains-regent, the new and the old rulers sat at the altar in their black and white velvet, ermine and lace habits of office, but true to their socialist faith remained ostentatiously nonparticipatory. They looked impassively ahead while others prayed and crossed themselves.

Form dominated over content also in the large number of participants who constitute San Marino's diplomatic corps. Men and women in many countries enjoy the title of consul that San Marino bestows on friends. The titles carry slight responsibilities and afford the holders the pleasure of dressing in tail coats with medals and pearl-gray trousers twice a year, as well as a measure of diplomatic immunity in the countries where they live.

They included this time around the consul general in Washington, Enrico di Portanova, an American-born Italian with a Texas oil fortune, who attended with his banker, lawyer and public relations assistant, and Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld, a consul in Washington, whose father, Maxwell N. Rabb, is the American ambassador in Rome. The largely tiled jet-set

community enjoyed meeting here again and except for a required, silent courtesy bow, never met the leftist appliance dealers they traveled so far to honor.

As in most Italian cities, Communists and Socialists have alternated with Christian Democrats in government, but because San Marino is an independent state that belongs to international organizations and attends important conferences, it has sometimes been regarded as a Communist bastion in the heart of a member of the Atlantic alliance.

The Soviet consul general, Yuri Karlov, came to the ceremony, although last month Giordano Bruno Refi, the Socialist secretary of state for foreign affairs, sent him a telegram condemning the shooting down of a South Korean airliner as "a terrorist act." The message had the approval of the Communists in government, Mr. Refi said in an interview.

Mr. Refi said that to understand the spirit of this 24-square-mile (62-square-kilometer) city-state, the 17-century-old sense of independence must be counted more highly than its strength. "We have always been weak, even in earlier days," he said. "Our soldiers are not destined for war. We fought our last war in 1462."

In that conflict, San Marino was allied with the Papal States, the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Urbino against the Malatestas, the potentates of neighboring Rimini. "We won and extended our territory to its present scope," Mr.



Germano de Biagi, left, marching next to Renzo Renzi in a procession through the streets of San Marino after their installation as captains-regent of the world's oldest republic.

Refi said. Mrs. Bonelli called the campaign San Marino's "last colonialist war."

At the twice-a-year changing of the captains-regents, hundreds of middle-aged and heavy-set civilians who form the ceremonial military guards manipulate ammunitionless rifles in approximate unanimity.

"San Marino should be the good conscience of Europe," said the secretary of state. "It should be like this everywhere. We have no enemies."

France's Tough Foreign Policy Belies Its 'Progressive' Rhetoric

By John Vinocur
New York Times Service

PARIS — The Frenchman who voted Socialist in May 1981 thinking that with François Mitterrand he was striking a blow against interventionism, neo-colonialism, and militarism got this: French troops in Chad and Lebanon, the first Atlantic alliance meeting in Paris in 17 years, a French signature on the bottom of President Ronald Reagan's Williamsburg declaration.

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tion on global security, and full Socialist embrace of NATO's projected missile deployment. The list skips over arms deals, support for African autocrats, and business-more-or-less-as-usual with South Africa.

If the Socialist voter is confused or disappointed by the actions, he can always listen to the words. While his government swells the share of the military budget for nuclear weapons and sends its Super Etendard fighters to bombard Syrian positions near Beirut, at least the talk stays "progressive" and Third Worldist. Indeed, at the United Nations General Assembly the week before last, Mr. Mitterrand called for two successive international conferences that would reduce arms expenditures and then transfer the savings to the underdeveloped.

More than two years into the president's seven-year term, French foreign and security policy can occasion-

ally seem like an action movie on which someone stuck a dream-sequence soundtrack. But no matter if the activism and the verbalism do not match. At home, Mr. Mitterrand has never been hurt because of a foreign policy decision. Rather, those Socialists who expected the president to close the French African bases, leave the West German garrisons, and mothball the fleet now talk about "realism in defense of the cause of peace."

Outside France, the president's friends and adversaries have come to judge him only by what he does, with Mr. Mitterrand gaining considerable respect in the process. The Russians have found his government continually mistrustful of them, and unresponsive on the essentials.

Perhaps the president's most ingenious bit of foreign policy activism in Europe, as well as his most significant gesture toward Moscow, was his speech in the West German Bundestag that warned of false notions of disarmament and the dangers of Europe and West Germany decoupling themselves from the United States.

If the analysis of Franz Joseph Strauss, the conservative West German political leader, is correct, the speech meant extra percentage points to Chancellor Helmut Kohl in the March elections, and the victory of a security policy in West Germany that Mr. Mitterrand believes vital for the balance of power in Europe and the independence of France.

Like the Russians, the Americans have found Mr.

Mitterrand dead serious. The Reagan administration has got used to a French reflex to see faults in almost anything the United States can undertake as an acceptable trade-off in a basically good working relationship.

In the case of Chad, the French did not like (in spite of the contradictions) the Americans pushing them into intervening, musing in their zone of influence, and then taking out the U.S. surveillance aircraft. But the tension was verbal; France got involved, stopped the Libyan advance, and fulfilled the role of West African policeman that the Socialist election campaign criticized so harshly in 1981.

The same kind of process took place in Lebanon, with the French criticizing the U.S. naval shelling in support of the government of Amin Gemayel, and then attacking the Druze-Syrian positions themselves. The best explanation of the pattern is that it is important for the government and its followers not to seem dragged along in the wake of the Americans.

Finding little to criticize in Mr. Mitterrand's foreign policy that could excite public opinion, the French right has taken to saying it is not very original. Worse, wrote the conservative *Le Quotidien de Paris*, "it is lined up with that of the United States in spite of all the canned anti-American potshots."

France's difficulty in running its policy, particularly in relation to the United States, is proportioning its limited means. In some cases, pragmatism has subverted original intentions. An example is Nicaragua and Latin America, where the government sought

briefly to be active and then found the expense and the potential conflict with the United States too great.

These are tactical issues, but one of the greatest French fears had a flutter last week. Along with the horror scenario of an effectively neutralized West Germany that would end its buffer role between France and the Soviet bloc, the government constantly worries about some kind of Soviet-U.S. arms limitation agreement that would go behind its back and legislate the French nuclear force into insignificance.

Mr. Mitterrand has dealt with the issue by saying France will have nothing to do with the Geneva talks in progress. But while he was talking at the United Nations, Vice President George Bush suggested in Washington that at one point or another the French and British nuclear forces would have to come into the equation.

The formula was vague enough for the State Department to try to finesse it and the government did not press the issue. But it troubled people in France because it goes to the heart of what has the feel of a tacit, quid pro quo arrangement between the Socialists and the Reagan administration.

That understanding says that France and the United States can work in concert and in confidence in many areas if France is not pushed into the nuclear counting game. Through Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, France made clear last week it would not accept being judged by the Americans. If it thinks it is feeling an elbow, all the other bets could be off.

Reagan Says Influx of Soviet Arms Raises Doubts on Damascus's Goals

By Bernard Gwertzman
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan says that a "massive" influx of new Soviet military equipment into Syria, including an advanced SS-21 missile system, has caused the United States "to wonder aloud" about Syria's interest in peace in the region.

In his weekly radio address Saturday, Mr. Reagan confirmed U.S. intelligence reports that the SS-21, a surface-to-surface mobile missile with a range of about 75 miles (121 kilometers), was being introduced in Syria. From Syria, the SS-21 would be able to hit targets in Israel, in Lebanon and on U.S. Navy ships in the Mediterranean.

Although Mr. Reagan said the missiles were already in Syria, U.S. intelligence officials believe they are still en route, with only the launching vehicles and storage facilities in Syria now.

Administration officials said Mr. Reagan was trying to express the concern felt in Washington over Syria's activities, and in particular the major increase in Soviet arms and personnel. He also justified the

U.S. involvement in the Middle East and the continued presence of U.S. Marines in Lebanon as necessary to prevent the region from falling under Soviet sway.

Mr. Reagan also seemed to endorse the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, a move which he had condemned at the time. "Terrorists in Lebanon violated Israel's northern border, killing innocent civilians," he said of the situation last year. "Syrian forces occupied the eastern part of Lebanon. Israeli military finally invaded from the south to force the PLO away from the border."

Factions Agree to Meet

Lebanon's warring factions of Druze and Shiite Muslims and Christian Phalangists have agreed to hold preliminary talks in Beirut on Tuesday and a planned national conference of reconciliation is expected to follow shortly afterward, Lebanese official sources said Sunday night.

The sources said that the wider conference, in which the distribution of power would be discussed, was also expected to meet in Lebanon, Reuters reported.

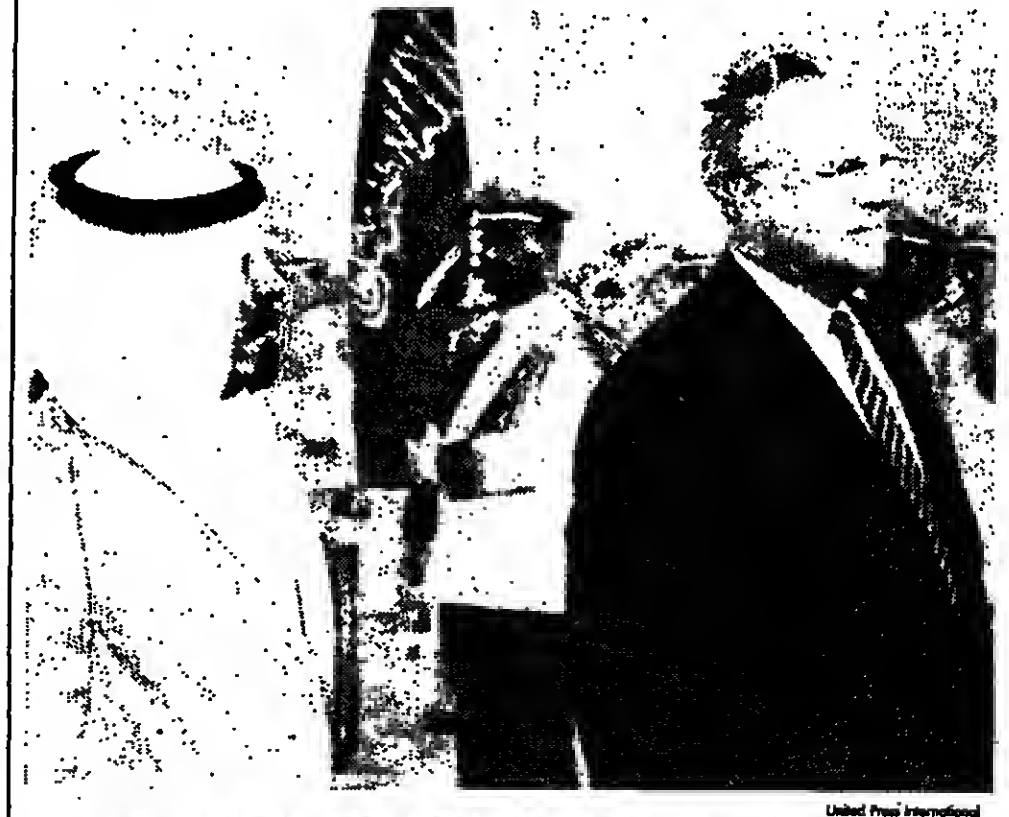
The report came shortly after the U.S. special envoy to the Middle East, Robert C. McFarlane, returned from Damascus to Beirut to brief Lebanese officials on the outcome of his talks with Syria's foreign minister, Abdel Halim Khaddam.

A source at one of the embassies that will be represented at the talks said that the preliminary meeting would probably be held in a demilitarized zone on the southeastern edge of Beirut, where a security committee to enforce the cease-fire has been meeting.

He said the wider conference of 11 delegates, which will include Syrian and Saudi observers, was expected to meet somewhere in Lebanon a few days after the preparatory talks.

Two U.S. Marines were slightly wounded late Saturday night and Sunday morning in separate shooting incidents at the Marine camp near Beirut Airport.

A Marine spokesman said "some random shots" continued to be fired throughout the day near the Marine position. Several Marine units remained on alert.



ON TOUR — Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany and Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia inspecting the honor guard after Mr. Kohl arrived in Jeddah on Sunday for official talks. Mr. Kohl has also visited Jordan and Egypt during his Middle East tour.

French, Dutch Pay Highest Tax In Rates Study

The Associated Press

LONDON — Income taxes in eight industrialized countries, calculated by British officials, show France and the Netherlands imposing the highest rates on average income earners, a report said Sunday.

A table produced by British tax officials and published in the Sunday Times claimed that a single person paid 43 percent of earnings in tax in France and 42 percent in the Netherlands.

The highest tax rate for a married person with two children was the 33 percent imposed in the Netherlands.

The table's tax rates for an average worker:

- Married person with two children: Netherlands 33 percent, Sweden 25 percent, West Germany 24 percent, Britain 20 percent, Italy 19 percent, Japan 17 percent, United States 16 percent and France 6 percent.
- Single person: France 43 percent, Netherlands 42 percent, West Germany 37 percent, Sweden 35 percent, Britain 32 percent, Italy and United States 24 percent and Japan 22 percent.

But in the talks on medium-range forces, Mr. Reagan first demanded the zero option, whereby the Soviet Union would destroy all their existing missiles in return for Washington forgoing planned deployments.

Then Mr. Reagan proposed a limit of 300 missile warheads on each side. Finally, two weeks ago, he suggested a higher ceiling of equality but said the United States would not deploy all of its allowed missiles to Europe, leaving Moscow with a numerical advantage.

But fundamental differences remained as Soviet leaders refused to agree to any U.S. deployments and insisted on counting French and

Pragmatism, Politics Color Reagan Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

arms talks could not commence until Moscow had moderated its behavior in Afghanistan, Poland and elsewhere.

Then they agreed to start talks on medium-range forces in Europe at the moment when martial law was imposed in Poland.

This was almost a year after the inauguration, and it took another six months before the strategic arms talks began.

Leaders of the administration also remonstrated against past practices of taking tough bargaining stances and then relenting under domestic pressure. They would take a position and stick to it.

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British missiles, neither of which is acceptable in Washington.

The administration seems to be following the familiar pattern of past Soviet-U.S. negotiations: ambitious U.S. proposals for "real arms control," then pressures from allies and Congress to compromise, U.S. backpedaling over several years, and finally a modest agreement or nothing.

Dutch Financier Arrested in U.S.

Los Angeles Times Service

LOS ANGELES — An international financier and land broker has been arrested after being charged by federal authorities in a huge land fraud involving thousands of investors who were cheated out of up to \$2 billion.

Federal authorities accused Bernard Whitely, 64, a native of the Netherlands, Friday of engineering the largest land fraud in American history. A second man, Reinik Kamer, of the Netherlands, was also indicted but remains a fugitive.

The two men were charged with hiring Dutch, Belgian, West German and American investors into buying highly overpriced land in the Antelope Valley, Utah, New York and Texas.

The fact is that Soviet and U.S. nuclear forces are asymmetrical, meeting different strategic and political needs, and neither side is prepared to give up its advantages.

To make matters worse, there is no mutual trust.

These are not the best ingredients for making big compromises and far-reaching treaties.

In administration deliberations concluded last week, State Department experts proposed an intermediate step, an expanded version of the unratified arms treaty, an idea that many officials felt could be made to mesh with the Soviet position.

Officials said that Mr. Reagan did not reject it out of hand, and that it could be a fallback.

U.S. concessions come at a time when Soviet leaders seem to have concluded that they cannot deal with the Reagan administration.

Increasingly, the State Department views resembles the thinking of many outside experts, namely the chances for a breakthrough are not good until overall Soviet-U.S. relations improve.

A positive atmosphere is needed for the kind of difficult arm compromises that would have to be made, but the prospects for a breakthrough of those dimensions seem dimmest of all.

WORLD BRIEFS

Mugabe Talks of Seizing Whites' Land

HARARE, Zimbabwe (UPI) — Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe warned that his government would seize white-owned land if British aid to his country were stopped.

Under the British-designed independence constitution the Zimbabwe government is forced to buy land from whites and barred from expropriating it. At independence three years ago Britain gave Zimbabwe \$50 million to buy land for black peasant resettlement. British government officials in Zimbabwe have played down reports of aid cuts over the continued detention of three white air force officers. The officers were among six airmen acquitted in the high court of plotting the sabotage last year of 13 warplanes at an airbase.

Mr. Mugabe told a party rally Saturday that his government would not tax the black majority to raise money to buy land from "British settlers" if British aid stopped. "I swear by Mbuya Nehanda [a tribal spirit] that Zimbabweans will not be taxed for land owned by British settlers if Margaret Thatcher [Britain's prime minister] decides to stop British aid to Zimbabwe," Mr. Mugabe said.

President of Uganda Offers Amnesty

KAMPALA, Uganda — President Milton Obote offered an amnesty Sunday to exiled former presidents Yusuf Lule and Godfrey Binaisa and promised them free run of the country and the media to make their dissenting views known.

In a speech marking Uganda's 21st anniversary of independence from Britain, Mr. Obote made no mention of an amnesty for the predecessor of the former president, Idi Amin, who was overthrown by Tanzanian troops in April 1979. Mr. Amin is in exile in Saudi Arabia.

After Mr. Obote won the presidency in a general election in 1980, Mr. Lule and Mr. Binaisa fled to London where they head anti-Obote exile groups. Earlier this year Mr. Obote had accused Mr. Lule of hiring mercenaries to overthrow his government.

Gunmen Kidnap Guatemalan Editor

GUATEMALA CITY (AP) — A dozen gunmen seized a top Guatemalan newspaper executive and dragged him from his house in the southern part of the capital early Sunday, a relative said.

Pedro Julio Garcia, 60, director general of the conservative *Presencia Libre* newspaper, was kidnapped after gunmen entered his house firing automatic weapons, according to the relative.

No one has claimed responsibility for the kidnapping. It was the third time an executive of the *Presencia Libre*, Guatemala's biggest newspaper, had been kidnapped or murdered since Jan. 28, 1979, when gunmen killed the former deputy director, Ezequiel Zarco. On March 5, 1982, gunmen kidnapped the director, Alvaro Contreras Velez. He was freed five months later after relatives paid \$300,000 and published a guerrilla communiqué in several newspapers.

India Sends More Troops to Punjab

NEW DELHI (AP) — The Indian government ordered additional security forces into the troubled state of Punjab Sunday after Sikh gunmen wounded two people, authorities said. Officials in Punjab said police and paramilitary troops marched through the streets of Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana and other sensitive towns.

The Sikh-dominated northern Indian state was declared a disturbed region and police and military were given emergency powers last Friday to shoot rioters on sight, search homes and make arrests without warrants. Earlier, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's federal government took direct control of the state administration.

Authorities said a Hindu trader was shot and wounded at Jarnail, 30 miles (48 kilometers) southeast of Kapurthala. In another incident, two Sikh extremists opened fire and wounded a Hindu near the Sikh holy city of Amritsar, the officials said. The victim was reported in stable condition.

8 Arrested After Protests in Pakistan

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (UPI) — Six persons were arrested in the western Punjab town of Faisalabad, after the police charged an estimated 15,000 anti-government protesters, officials said.

Also on Saturday, two persons were arrested at a rally in the Sind province town of Khairpur, 760 miles (1,220 kilometers) southeast of Islamabad, and demonstrators burned two oil tanker trucks on a road in the central section of the province, opposition sources said. For the past eight weeks, Sind has been the center of the anti-government protests.

The protesters in Faisalabad, 175 miles south of Islamabad, threw rocks at buses and buildings before they were dispersed, officials said. They were calling for an end to six years of martial law.

2 Russians Are Said to Defect to U.S.

ANKARA (AP) — A uniformed Soviet general walked across the heavily guarded frontier into Turkey several weeks ago, asked for political asylum in the West and was flown to the United States, informed sources say here.

But two Istanbul daily newspapers that published the defection report on Saturday, *Hurriyet* and *Gumushinyi*, retracted their stories on Sunday, saying the reports could not be confirmed by officials. In Washington, a State Department spokesman refused to confirm or deny the report. There was no official comment from Turkish or Soviet officials.

Informed sources in Ankara, who requested anonymity, said Saturday that the general had been flown to the United States. They said the defection took place several weeks ago but could provide no details on the general's identity.

In Tokyo, police reported that a 52-year-old Soviet scientist had left Sunday for the United States after being granted political asylum there. The scientist, Yevgeny A. Novikov, a physicist and member of the Soviet Academy of Science, said he was seeking academic freedom.

Armenian Charged in French Attack

PARIS (Reuters) — A Turkish-born Armenian suspected of designing a bomb that killed eight persons and wounded 54 at Orly airport south of Paris last July has been charged with attempted murder, court sources say.

Nayir Soner, 22, was flown to Paris under heavy police escort after his arrest Saturday at Marseille's Saint Charles railroad station, where he had arrived on an overnight train from the capital. Police sources said that six other Armenians had been detained since Thursday and were being questioned on the suspicion that they may have sheltered Mr. Soner.

Mr. Soner landed at Orly's southern terminal, the site of the July 15 explosion, and was taken to a court in the Paris suburb of Créteil where he was charged with attempted murder and with being an accomplice to murder, the court sources said. Police sources said Mr. Soner was believed to be a leader of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, which claimed the blast, and that he was suspected of designing the firing circuit for the explosives.

For the Record

Fishery specialists meet Monday in Rome to discuss worldwide strategies for managing marine wildlife and setting limits on catches. (Reuters)

An earthquake struck northern Chile Sunday, sending people fleeing to the streets but causing no deaths or major damage, authorities said. Six days earlier, a stronger tremor in the same area killed four persons, injured several dozen people and left hundreds homeless. (UPI)

Americans Define Ideal President

By Personal Qualities, Poll Finds

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Americans cite personal qualities more often than political ones to describe their notion of an ideal president, according to a New York Times-CBS News poll.

Most of the 1,587 respondents to the poll, which was conducted between Sept. 24 and Sept. 28, could name as many as three key qualities they consider important in a president. But the survey found that only one-third of them could think of someone in public life who came close to embodying those attributes.

President Ronald Reagan was named as meeting the ideal more than any other individual, but just as many people mentioned various Democrats as mentioned Mr. Reagan and other Republicans.

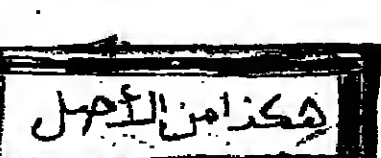
Only three persons offered the names of women when asked who came closest to the representing the qualities they deemed important in a president. One woman named former Representative Bella Abzug of New York, a Democrat; another named Senator Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas, a Republican; and a man said Shirley Temple Black, a former ambassador to Ghana, would be his ideal.

Thirty-five percent said honesty was one of the three most important qualities a president could have. Eighteen percent listed compassion and 17 percent intelligence. These traits were mentioned more often than a variety of leadership skills or any other grouping of qualities. Interviews with some of the poll respondents indicated that there was no clear relation between the qualities people named and how they voted.

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AMERICAN TOPICS

Heritage Foundation

Just a decade after its launching with a \$250,000 grant from the Colorado brewer Joseph Coors, the Heritage Foundation has made its mark on Washington and the United States as a leading conservative research organization and intellectual center.

The foundation's president, Edwin J. Feulner, points to its new \$9.5-million building overlooking Capitol Hill as a symbol of its "acceptance as part of Washington's public policy establishment." Indeed, its place in that establishment was firmly marked when President Ronald Reagan served as keynote speaker at the foundation's 10th anniversary celebration last week.

As a think tank, the Heritage Foundation is nowhere near as well known in the capital as the Brookings Institution, commonly identified with liberal, moderate and conservative causes, and the American Enterprise Institute, usually seen as moderate and Republican in orientation. But it has staked out a distinctive role as a source of conservative research and analysis.

Its reports, bulletins and scholarly journal articles on domestic and foreign policy issues flow regularly and copiously to members of Congress and their staffs, the executive branch, the news media and the academic community.

The foundation has not hesitated to criticize President Reagan for staying, as it sees it, from the conservative path. One year into his administration, it issued the president a "report card" giving him a mark of only 62 percent for compliance on conservative issues.

"Our job is to run the flag all the way up the flagpole and hope people salute," said Mr. Feulner. "The fact that Ronald Reagan saluted 62 percent of the time wasn't bad at all. Jimmy Carter would have saluted 20 percent of the time."

Unlike Washington's other two leading think tanks, Heritage does not take government grants. Its funding comes from corporate, foundation and individual contributions, which this year total about \$10 million.

The closing of the two prime fishing grounds means that Alaska will produce only an estimated 25 million pounds of king crab in the 1983-84 season, compared to a recent peak of almost 200 million pounds in the 1980-81 season. Prospects for natural replenishment of the king crab stocks are considered poor, meaning soaring prices in the future too.

McCarthy Encore?

Repeating after almost three weeks of hospitalization for a mild heart attack, Eugene J. McCarthy, says he hasn't made up his mind about a fourth try at the presidency.

Mr. McCarthy, 67, a former Democratic senator from Minnesota, had the heart attack on Labor Day. In an interview with the Los Angeles Times, he said he is still contemplating his political future, but he sounded very much like a man ready to take a crack at the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination.

"Once you get into it, you can't stop," he said of presidential politics. "It's hard to stop running then to start."

Mr. McCarthy unsuccessfully sought the Democratic nomination in 1968 and 1972, and in 1976 he ran for the presidency as an independent. In 1980, he turned his back on his party and supported Ronald Reagan because he regarded President Jimmy Carter as incompetent.

But now he is fed up with Mr. Reagan and is prepared to return to the Democratic fold. Mr. McCarthy's stands on some of the major issues are often more original than those of the current Democratic presidential contenders, suggesting that when Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a New York Democrat, once said of him still applies.

"Hands down, Gene McCarthy is the most intellectually competent man to appear in politics since Woodrow Wilson," Mr. Moynihan said. "He has no equal in his conception of the issues."

Mr. McCarthy, for instance, would tackle the unemployment problem by cutting the work week from 40 to 35 hours and by curbing or even eliminating paid overtime. He said

Requirements for High School Diploma Are Stiffened in U.S.

By Edward B. Fiske

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The academic requirements for a high school diploma in the United States are becoming stiffer.

In the last three years at least 20 states have increased the number of academic courses necessary for a high school degree and the number of courses students must take in English, mathematics and science. More than 15 other states are considering such steps.

The trend extends from New York, where the board of regents has tentatively approved curriculum standards that include proficiency in foreign language, to California, where the legislature has voted to restore guidelines that were abolished in the late 1960s.

The concern with academic standards reflects a growing belief that the quality of public schools is not as high as it should be and that flabbiness in high school curricula is one reason why.

In April the National Commission on Excellence in Education described high school curricula as "diluted and diffused to the point that they no longer have a central purpose."

The move toward tighter standards in high schools has parallels elsewhere, notably in a trend toward higher entrance requirements at public colleges and universities. But it has aroused anxiety among some educators who, while not disputing the need to increase quality, argue that toughening requirements is a simplistic solution to a complex problem.

"I worry that we are setting mechanical standards rather than addressing the real learning problems of the youngsters who will have to meet them," said Harold Howe II, a former U.S. commissioner of education who is now a professor at the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University.

Three years ago, according to the National Association of Secondary School Principals, 42 states required that a student take one or more specific courses to receive a high school degree. Six states had no statewide requirements in 1980 and left such matters entirely up to local districts. Two others, Nebraska and Vermont, mandated a total number of courses but required no specific ones.

Of the 20 states that have increased the number of core courses required for a high school diploma since 1980, Illinois acted most recently. That state, which previously required only three years of English and one of social studies, adopted a law mandating three years of English, two of math, science and social studies and one of either music, art or a foreign language.

In Florida, where such matters were previously left up to local school districts, the legislature in July passed an educational reform act stipulating that students must have 22 credits to receive a diploma in 1985 and 24 in 1987.

The law also requires students to complete a specific set of courses, including four years of English and three of math, science and social studies.

Ralph Turlington, who heads the State Education Department, estimates that less than 10 percent of this year's high school seniors would graduate if the 1987 requirements were in effect.

California abolished statewide graduation requirements in 1969 in keeping with the trend toward giving students more choice. In July the legislature reversed this policy, adopting an act requiring three years of English and social studies, two of math and science, two of physical education and one of either fine arts or a foreign language. At least 15 other states are considering similar moves.

In some ways the "action plan" now receiving final touches from the New York Board of Regents is the most ambitious. The plan would make New York the only state to require proficiency in a foreign language for all students, even those not going to college.

On the basis of an analysis of 8,800 high school transcripts for the National Commission on Excellence in Education, a researcher found that students today were spending less time on traditional academic subjects and more on "personal service" courses such as driver education or home economics than their counterparts did in the 1960s.

In June the Task Force on Education for Economic Growth, composed of governors, high corporate officials and others, said, "Half of all high school graduates take no mathematics or science beyond the 10th grade."

The National Commission on Excellence in Education is recommending that schools focus on five "new basics" consisting of four years of English, three of math, science and social studies and a half-year of computer science. The National Center for Education Statistics estimates that less than 4 percent of college-bound students and less than 2 percent of all students now fulfill these criteria.

With the exception of a few states like New York and California, the initiative for stiffer graduation standards has come from political and business leaders rather than educators or education organizations.

Some argue that the new requirements are unfair to students who are not going to college. For this reason, a legislative committee in Pennsylvania dropped a proposal to force the State Board of Education to require students to pass two years of foreign language courses.

School officials in Philadelphia and San Francisco have resisted new state curriculum requirements because of the potential cost, while others have questioned the emphasis on basic subjects, especially for students in low-income areas.

"We aren't opposed to improving education," said Herb Cooke, executive director of the Classroom Teachers of Dallas. "But there's more to education than math, reading and science."

In the case of disadvantaged students, he said, "If they don't get the training in things like music and art at school, they're never going to get it."

In Kansas City, Soviet TV Is Accused of Distorting City's Image

By Wallace Turner

New York Times Service

KANSAS CITY, Missouri — A year ago some Kansas City residents volunteered to help a Soviet television crew film a documentary about American life. But when they saw the product three weeks ago, they were sorry.

"As well as I know this town, having been born here, as was my father, I could not have put together a show that would demolish Kansas City with the meanness of

spirit they did," said Morton Sosland, editor of Miller and Baking News, a trade publication.

According to Mr. Sosland and others who have seen it, the film unfairly depicts economic destitution, mistreatment of blacks and exploitation by bankers and "greedy capitalist beetles."

The Soviet documentary is entitled "In the Middle of America." The film is not expected to be shown publicly in the United States, though parts of it will be

broadcast this month on the ABC News television program "20/20."

An ABC News production unit brought an English-dubbed copy of the finished documentary here to show to people who had been interviewed for it and to film their reactions for use on the program.

"It is devastating," Mr. Sosland said. "I have used the expression that it is very sad for that many people to see something so twisted and distorted."

He said that after an opening

aerial view of Kansas City, the film showed Fort Osage, a display recreating the pioneer era, while the announcer said, in effect, "This was a fort from which these people stole the land from those noble Indians."

"It was all downhill from there," Mr. Sosland said. In his judgment, the treatment of Kansas City showed that Soviet leaders "obviously are stung by Mr. Reagan's attack that they are not moral, not trustworthy and have no regard for human dignity."

"They said over and over, 'This is a country that accuses us of immorality,'" he said.

He said he had consented to take part in the interviews because he wanted to promote his view that it was naive of President Jimmy Carter to embargo grain sales to the Soviet Union and wise of President Ronald Reagan to remove the embargo.

Mr. Sosland said that while almost all of what he said in the interview concerned the grain embargo, the documentary never mentioned that the Soviet Union purchases grain from the United States.

He said he was quoted as saying that American farmers were destitute, which he called an overstatement of farming's economic problems, and that farm prices were at their lowest in history, which he said was untrue.

He said the film emphasized mistreatment of black people, economic hardship of the underprivileged and a system dominated by banks. Bank signs flashed repeatedly on the screen, including one sign of Coldwell Banker, a real estate company, which he took to be the result of misunderstanding.

Some of the scenes described as being in Kansas City were actually in other cities, he said, such as one of a man peeing through a trash barrel in Lafayette Park in Washington, with the White House visible in the distance.

The city's mayor, Richard Berkley, said he was "very positive and enthusiastic about Kansas City" when he was questioned on camera. He said this might explain why he did not appear in the film.

Charles Calhoun, a student at the Kansas City campus of the University of Missouri, said he was one of eight students questioned on camera. He did not appear in the documentary. No one said he was misquoted, he said, "but we were misrepresented."

Arne Canfield manages Prime Time, an agency of the Chamber of Commerce, which helped the Soviet reporters and camera crew last year.

She said the crew interviewed workers at Arco Steel Co. on a workday and then returned on Sunday to get film that made the plant look closed and abandoned. This was used to support the theme that Kansas City workers spend most waking hours worrying about losing their jobs.

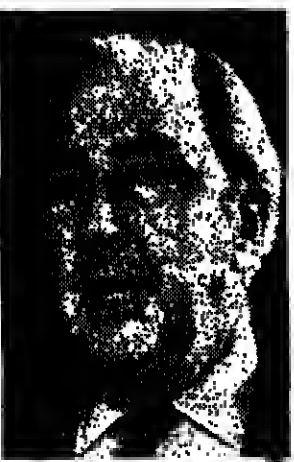
Macy's South

New Yorkers transplanted to Florida or just visiting during the cold winter months will get a touch of home when R.H. Macy & Co. opens its first Florida branch this week.

The new Macy's in North Miami doesn't expect much business in heavyweight winter wear; it will emphasize clothing suited to southern Florida's outdoor life and climate.

The store's 94th branch will sell T-shirts and coffee mugs with an "I Love Florida" motif rather than the "I Love New York" theme on items stocked in the mother store in New York City's Herald Square.

Macy's officials say they are looking in southern Florida because the area's population growth rate is one of the country's highest. That, no doubt, is why Bloomingdale's plans an opening in southern Dade County next spring.



Eugene J. McCarthy

this approach, which he calls "redistribution of work," would put 5 million of the 10 million now unemployed back to work. He said that Senator Ernest F. Hollings, a South Carolina Democrat, is the only presidential candidate whose views are close to his own.

Symphony Tour

Off on a two-week tour of America's Sun Belt, the Washington-based National Symphony has begun a "Tour America" project aimed at taking the orchestra and conductor Mstislav Rostropovich around the country over the next few years.

Mr. Rostropovich says he wants to take the orchestra to parts of the country "that are not too well-nourished musically."

"I don't think they need us in the big cities. They get the Chicago and the Philadelphia [orchestras] there. But I think we have this obligation to the rest of the country. We have to do something significant for the people there," he said.

The tour started last week in Houston, hardly a musically malnourished city because of its opera company and symphony orchestra. Other stops are Albuquerque, New Mexico; Las Vegas; San Francisco; and Phoenix, Arizona.

Although the "Tour America" project is just beginning, Mr. Rostropovich hinted at expanding it in the future.

"When was the last time a big orchestra played in Alaska? Or when one played in small-town Kansas to those farmers who sell wheat to the Soviet Union?" the Soviet émigré asked.

Crab Famine

The news from Alaska is bleak for fanciers of Alaskan king crab: stocks of the delicacy are down dramatically and soon will be rare in seafood markets and restaurants.

The Alaska Department of Fish and Game has ordered a total shutdown of the state's prime king crab fishing grounds, saying that the population of male king crabs, the only kind which may be legally fished, is down to record low levels. Female king crabs captured for a survey were all found to be barren.

One-Liners

The American Express Company says it will donate a penny to the Statue of Liberty Restoration project each time a customer charges a purchase to his or her American Express card over the next three months.

Black doctors account for only 2.6 percent of America's physicians and more are urgently needed, says a report by officials from eight predominantly black health professions schools.

Americana

Americans concerned about staying or becoming fit are finding new allies in restaurants catering to health-conscious patrons.

If a diner says hold the sugar, or salt, or fat, or red meat, more and more restaurants are willing to oblige, according to the group, Public Voice for Food and Health Policy. It said that 22 restaurants examined in its small but in-depth six-month study were responding to both their customers' expressed interest in nutrition and to "positive market indications."

The group also checked up on fast-food outlets and found that most of their offerings are high in calories, fat and salt. But it noted that the fast-food chains do not ignore nutrition and even increasingly promote it in their advertisements.

A different survey by the National Restaurant Association offers some corroborating evidence: 67 percent of women and 53.8 percent of men polled say they try to patronize restaurants that offer fresh vegetables and salads. But in the trade association's survey, the diners' top consideration in their choice of eating establishments is the restaurant's cleanliness.

The tastiness of the food was a consideration, too — but only after the No. 2 criterion, the cleanliness of the restaurant's bathrooms.

Mr. Mondale won the straw poll with 47 percent, followed by Senator Alan Cranston of California, who had 37 percent. Senator Glenn received 5.9 percent.

Iowa, where the delegate selection process begins in 1984, is the sixth state to hold a major straw poll. Before Saturday night, Mr. Glenn had won one and Mr. Mondale and Mr. Cranston two each.

The newspaper poll, known as the Iowa Poll, was conducted by the Des Moines Register and published in its Sunday editions. It found that Mr. Mondale holds a lead of 46 percent to 27 percent over Mr. Glenn, his chief rival for the Democratic nomination. The finding represents a gain of one percentage point for Mr. Mondale since the last Iowa Poll was taken in July, and a loss of three points for Mr. Glenn.

Mr. Mondale would do almost as well among Iowans as would Mr. Glenn in a contest against President Ronald Reagan, according to the poll. It showed Mr. Mondale leading Mr. Reagan 51 percent to 41 percent, and Mr. Glenn leading Mr. Reagan 51 percent to 40 percent.

George McGovern, the former South Dakota senator, was in third place with 8 percent. Senator Gary Hart of Colorado had 4 percent, Mr. Cranston 2 percent, and the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson 2 percent. Ronin Askew, the former governor of Florida, and Senator Ernest F. Hollings, Democrat of South Carolina, each had 1 percent or less.

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U.S. Admits It Overstated Aid To Areas Hurt by Peso's Fall

By Wayne King
New York Times Service

HOUSTON — Nearly \$100 million described by the Reagan administration as aid to areas hurt by devaluations of the Mexican peso went to underwrite offshore oil rigs built in Mississippi and for the development of rental property near Palm Springs, California, federal officials said.

March of the rest of the total of about \$116 million described as aid to areas near the Mexican border is money that was previously earmarked for border areas under existing federal programs, the administration confirmed.

Border area officials say some existing grant programs have been accelerated because of the peso crisis but that very little new money has been made available.

Critics say the administration's labeling of existing funds as border aid is a suggestion, for political purposes, that there is new aid money when there is not. They say there is no suggestion of misuse of funds, but rather, a misrepresentation of reality.

President Ronald Reagan, after a trip to the stricken border area, set up the Southwest Border Action Group in mid-August and appeared to give it significant influence in the administration by appointing Vice President George Bush as its head.

Over a two-week period in September, Mr. Bush's office reported some \$116 million in federal proj-

ects that it said would help the border areas' shattered economies. These areas are heavily dependent on commerce involving Mexicans, which was brought almost to a standstill by successive devaluations of the peso.

The disclosure by The El Paso Times, which serves a depressed border area, that a loan guarantee of \$94.8 million to Global Marine Inc. of Houston had actually underwritten private financing for three oil rigs already built brought sharp reaction from border officials, notably Representative Ron Coleman, a Texas Democrat whose district includes El Paso.

In a statement through a spokesman in Washington, Mr. Coleman said that "the credibility of the vice president's border working group has been called into question and may be seriously damaged."

He added that the border working group was "a misleading grandstand play by the administration to make it appear that the border region will receive more assistance than it actually will."

In Washington, Shirley Green, a spokeswoman for the vice president, read a statement from Global Marine, conceding that the loans guaranteed by the government, through the Department of Commerce, had been used to underwrite three rigs already in operation.

But the company maintained that the federal guarantee made it possible for it to "participate in the ownership" of a new rig to be built

at the Marathon LeTourneau Shipyard in Brownsville.

Global Marine said in its statement that "the timely delivery of this rig will insure the continued employment of more than 500 workers at the facility."

However, there was no direct financial connection between the loan guarantee and the construction of the new rig, nor any demonstration that it would not have been built anyway, with or without the guarantee of an unrelated loan to a partner in the construction.

Mr. Bush's spokeswoman conceded, moreover, that Global Marine's participation in the construction of the rig represented about \$11 million, not \$94.8 million.

Although she maintained that the listing of the loan guarantee was justified, she confirmed that none of the money designated as border aid was new money specifically earmarked as such. "That is going to be true of all those that are going to be done," she added.

The administration was also criticized by Mr. Coleman for including a \$4.3-million low-interest government loan to construct privately owned housing for the elderly in Cathedral City, California. The loan was listed as one of the border aid projects.

Although the housing is for the elderly, it is 80 miles (130 kilometers) from the border and has been described as being more dependent on resort trade than Mexican commerce.



A demonstrator was arrested after he broke through security guards at the Lisbon airport and ran toward a car carrying Mozambique's president, Samora Machel.

Machel Blames Pretoria for Africa Unrest

Reuters

LISBON — President Samora Machel of Mozambique, on a visit to Portugal, has blamed South Africa for instability in southern Africa.

Mr. Machel, who began a five-day visit on Friday, was speaking at a dinner given in his honor Saturday by the Portuguese president, Antonio Ramalho Eanes. Mr. Machel said: "It is the racist regime of South Africa which is responsible for the insecurity, for the climate of instability and for the threat of a generalized war in our region."

Mr. Machel likened the South African government to that of Nazi Germany, saying it used the same methods of aggression, intimidation, blackmail and propaganda.

"We wish to establish solid relations with all peoples of our region," said Mr. Machel. "And when we speak of the people of South Africa we speak of all South Africans."

Mr. Machel, whose Marxist government came to power when Mozambique became independent from Portugal in June 1975, also urged greater cooperation between the two countries. He said Mozambique has overcome the divisions of the 10-year war for independence, of which he was a leader. "We have learned how to overcome complex, stop hatred, and overcome the trauma of a process that was difficult and painful for both peoples," he said.

Midwest Farmers, Starting to Fight Back, Seek New Allies

By Andrew H. Malcolm
New York Times Service

CHICAGO — About 60 angry farmers, who had tried to protest a farm foreclosure by occupying a bank, were standing around in the sun on the main street of Stockton, Kansas, the other morning. The farmers, from several surrounding counties and states, broke up into several discussions on where their region's protest movement should now direct its attentions.

But soon they gravitated to the fire hydrant where a muscular black man with braided hair had begun to lecture. "You farmers are so dumb," said Ernie Chambers, a state senator from Omaha. "They are going to pick you off one by one like this. Do you hear what I'm saying? Didn't you ever notice the only ones who ever get what they want in this country are those who show they're willing to fight for it? And I don't mean with words and conversations."

Agreeing murmurs and nods

swept through the crowd. It seemed another sign among many that the growing farm protest movement across the country's midsection was flowing in some new, more militant directions as fall descended on the harvested fields.

The U.S. farm sector faces a growing number of foreclosures and bankruptcies as a result of continued rising costs and declining real income. In addition, many crops withered from the worst drought in decades.

Alan Libbra is head of the Illinois Farm Coalition, one of many state groups uniting a number of discontented groups, including farmers, union members, blacks, environmentalists and anti-nuclear protesters. He and other protest leaders have expressed concern that the personal despair they routinely find in their meetings might somehow turn to violence.

Then on Sept. 29, according to police, a farmer in Rushon, Minnesota, who had been dispossessed

and given a bad credit rating, lured two bankers to an ambush on his former farm and shot both to death, committing suicide later.

"My greatest fear is that the tragedy will put some ideas in people's minds that I'd rather not have there," said David Ostendorf, a rural organizer in Iowa.

Joe Chastil, a leader of the Minnesota coalition known as Coact, said, "We need to have progress and to steer all these frustrations into constructive channels."

As one result, Coact is planning 500 midwinter workshops to train local members as well as coalition leaders from other states. These sessions will discuss the usual topics: farm finances, Minnesota's foreclosure moratorium law, legislation for minimum grain prices.

But this year the meetings will also include detailed instructions on sit-ins, office occupations and other forms of civil disobedience. "We'll be inviting the big grain companies to debate," Mr. Chastil

said, "and if they don't show, we'll bus our people over to them and practice what we learned in the civil disobedience seminars."

Soon Merle Hansen, a Nebraska farmer, will bring a handful of his peers here for a meeting that the Rev. Jesse Jackson has arranged with some black mayors for both sides to explore common interests. Mr. Hansen, an officer of the new North American Farm Alliance, a regional coalition, is trying to broaden the farmers' base of support.

Mr. Chambers, the black legislator, was applauded by his sidewalk audience in Kansas, including Mr. Hansen, when he said: "You know, you farmers have a lot of land but few members. Us blacks have no land but a lot of numbers. We really ought to get together, don't you think?"

A number of state protest groups have also designated Nov. 1 as Farm Revolt Day. But instead of dumping milk and shooting live-

stock to protest low prices, this time the farmers will take the milk and meat into the cities and distribute the food free to blacks, union members and unemployed laborers as a sign of unity.

Other farmers will lobby jointly with union representatives in support of state legislation benefiting farmers and the unemployed. Last month the United Automobile Workers officially joined the Iowa Farm Unity Coalition. Union members, skilled in public confrontations, are training farmers and will be accompanying them in at-

tempts to disrupt and halt some involuntary sales of farms.

Many volunteers are already organizing politically to defeat some state and federal legislators regarded as prime opponents in next year's elections.

"We've seen a lot of ebb and flow historically in farm movements," said Mr. Libbra. "But this one is different. It goes way beyond the farm. These people in policy positions who think we are going to just dry up and blow away had better start thinking in the long term."

U.S. Is Urged to Step Up Anti-Missile Laser Work

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — An advisory panel has urged Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger to step up research on new space weapons beginning the fiscal year that starts next Oct. 1, including work on lasers for use against enemy missiles and a program to harden new U.S. missiles so they can withstand laser weapons themselves.

Mr. Weinberger is expected to make his decision this week or next on the recommendations of the commission, which was headed by the former National Aeronautics and Space Administration director, James Fletcher. It was established after President Ronald Reagan's speech earlier this year calling for a major new effort to find some space defense against ballistic missiles.

Pentagon officials said last week that an expanded U.S. program was needed to counter recent Soviet progress. The "most dangerous" advance, according to an official, is a system of satellites that could apparently direct cruise missiles launched from Backfire bombers toward U.S. ships at sea anywhere in the world.

Until recently, analysts had said they believed that these satellites, called Rumsa, could be used only for surveillance of ships at sea. Now, however, it is believed that they can transmit location data down to Soviet aircraft and perhaps even to the guidance systems of cruise missiles already in flight.

Soviet satellites "will give a new dimension" to weapons technology, a Pentagon official said. "They will pick out military targets, locate

[them] and send that data direct to weapons systems."

The Pentagon plans to create a similar capability, but this is not expected to be operational until the late 1980s, sources said. The Navy is also planning a satellite navigation system to give the proposed Trident-2, a long-range submarine-launched missile, its planned high degree of accuracy through updated information while in flight.

Other Soviet developments, Pentagon sources said, included two test orbits this year of a possible two-man space plane, development of a shuttle, and the appearance of a giant rocket that could lift 300,000 pounds or more into a low orbit.

In recently published testimony before the House Appropriations subcommittee on defense, Richard S. Cooper, director of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, said the Russians could put a laser on board a "300,000 or 400,000-pound object."

But, he added, "our military forces would not be particularly threatened by a laser in space" of the kind that the Russians "could put together today," which are considered primitive.

The Fletcher commission proposed that U.S. scientists undertake research to determine how to defend missile systems from possible laser attack, one source said, and then work to develop a laser system that could be used to attack similarly hardened Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles or their warheads.

Proponents of the current U.S. laser program were critical last week of the Fletcher report. One described it as "a call for study, study, study rather than action."

A Rare Public Squabble Embarrasses Sweden's Nobel Literature Panel

By James M. Markham
New York Times Service

STOCKHOLM — It has been some time since the venerable Swedish Academy, founded in 1786 by King Gustav III, has been quite so embarrassed.

The high point of the staid academy's yearly cycle, the solemn announcement of the Nobel Prize in Literature, was marred Thursday by a squabble over the merits of its own decision. As the afternoon newspaper Expressen observed Friday, the dispute was "unique in the entire history of the academy."

For all its global renown, the Nobel Prize in Literature, and the people who give it, are regarded by Swedes with good-humored familiarity and affection. They are alive to the ties of the 18 cultural herons of the Swedish Academy — their likes and dislikes, the authors that some of them have translated into Swedish, then promoted for the prize, and other foibles.

When October comes, Stockholm taxi drivers weigh in with an air of insight and discrimination the claims of rumored Nobel prize candidates. This year there was a growing conviction that it was time for another woman — Marguerite Yourcenar of France, Doris Lessing, who was born in Rhodesia, or Nadine Gordimer of South Africa. Five of the 80 Nobel laureates have been women.

For the men in the street, the academy's choice of William Golding, the 72-year-old British novelist, at least had the merit of not being esoteric. Within minutes of the ritual 1 P.M. announcement of the winner at the stock exchange, Stockholm bookstores were handing off copies of "Lord of the Flies" for their show windows.

But for Arvid Lundkvist, one of the most influential members of the academy and a headstrong grand old man of Swedish letters, the choice of Mr. Golding was an affront. And, breaking pledge of silence that the jury takes about its own deliberations, the 77-year-old poet and essayist did what has never been done before.

He told reporters that he did not think Mr. Golding deserved the prize. And then he boycotted the academy's traditional lunch at the Gyllene Freden restaurant in the Old City. The restaurant's name means "golden peace" — something the academy longs for today.

Since he was appointed to the academy in 1968, Mr. Lundkvist, an authority on Spanish, French and Italian writing, has translated his views into prizes. The Lundkvist hand was detectable in the naming last year of Gabriel Garcia

Márquez, the Colombian novelist, in 1977 of Vicente Aleixandre, the Spanish poet, and in 1971 of Pablo Neruda, the Chilean poet.

Mr. Lundkvist, a radical politician, a poet in his youth and a 1958 winner of the Lenin Peace Prize, has urged the jury toward bold, experimental and revolutionary winners. He has been this kind of writer himself.

He has turned out lyrical and satirical books with such titles as "Bridges of the Night," "Life as Grass," and "Darango, or the Shepherd's Milk." Two years ago, he had a heart attack and was in a coma for four months; he is now writing an account of the dreams he had while unconscious.

The Lundkvist candidate this year was Claude Simon, a pioneer of the French nouveau roman who, Mr. Lundkvist argued in committee, had exercised a profound "fantasmatic" influence over Latin American writers. On Sept. 29, he contended, the academy had split 7 to 5, Mr. Golding over Mr. Simon.

On Thursday, according to Lars Gyllenstein, the academy's permanent secretary, the academy voted by a "great majority" for Mr. Golding at what he said was a tranquil meeting. "Lundkvist took part and did not oppose the qualifications of Golding for the prize," Mr. Gyllenstein said in an interview Friday.

But when Mr. Lundkvist was asked what he thought of the choice, he let fly with the biting judgment that Mr. Golding was a decent enough writer but hardly of Nobel caliber. Apparently piqued at being rebuffed over Mr. Simon, Mr. Lundkvist told journalists in telephone interviews that the selection of Mr. Golding amounted to a "coup" against him. Despite violating his vow of silence, there has been no indication that the academy will repudiate Mr. Lundkvist.

The Lundkvist tale undercuts the exotic selection process that has characterized the prize since it was first awarded to René Sully Prudhomme of France, hardly an undaring talent, in 1901. Other choices that, it could be argued, have not met the test of time include Giosuè Carducci, Rudolf Eucken, Isidoro Benavente, Grazia Deledda, Paul von Heyse, Carl Spitteler, Ivan A. Bunin and Mikhail A. Sholokhov.

The academy has never recognized Joseph Conrad, Marcel Proust, James Joyce, Henry James and Vladimir Nabokov. A number of obscure Scandinavians, including two members of the Swedish Academy, won the prize. Two other Scandinavians, August Strindberg and Henrik Ibsen, did not.

Heinrich Böll Uses Pen Against Plan for Missiles

By James M. Markham
New York Times Service

GROSSHAU, West Germany — Heinrich Böll, the only German postwar winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature, has an engaging way of pulling out a thought or an assertion, with a slow drag on a cigarette, and then appending to it the disarming German phrase *oder nicht?* The phrase, literally "or not?" is a shorthand way of saying, "What do you think?" or even, "Maybe I'm wrong."

"Many writers are radical," he said. "I am not, because of my age and because of my terrible fear of demagoguery. I have lived this on the street in the Nazi time. It is a trauma."

Mr. Böll, 66, who won his Nobel prize in 1972, is a tweaker of bourgeois foibles, an enemy of tyrannies large and small, an anti-militarist and a doer. Now he has turned his doubts, and his prestige, to issues of peace and nuclear war.

In September he and his wife, Annemarie, decided to join the peaceful blockade of a U.S. military base at Mutlangen, where Pershing-2 missiles are to be deployed in three months if U.S. and Soviet negotiators in Geneva do not come to a compromise first. Why did the Bölls go to Mutlangen?

"Because we are sure," Mr. Böll said, "that the new rockets will strengthen our safety. They will weaken it. Even if the Soviets destroyed all of their SS-20s they still will have the possibility to kill us 60 times — I have just read from the Austrian chief of the army — and we, the West, are supposed to kill them, if it comes to it, 40 times. So any new rocket is an absurdity."

As the subject was war and peace, Mr. Böll passed to recall to a visitor that the Spartan house where he works in this small village near the Belgian frontier is set in the Elzgerwald, where 17 U.S. and British divisions slashed toward the Germans between September 1944. In 1945 Corporal Böll, twice wounded, was captured by the Americans.

Mr. Böll said: "The war is not planned. I don't believe that any responsible person plans it. But it's thought as possible."

Such a war, he said, would make both Germans a battlefield. Three days before the Mutlangen demonstration Mr. Böll was backtracked, as he sees it, by an open letter to him from Colonel Heinz Kluge, an army officer, grandly published in the conservative daily Frankfurter Allgemeine. The colonel suggested that the blockade would torment soldiers inside the base and accused

Heinrich Böll

Mr. Böll of "endangering peace and freedom."

Displeased that the newspaper had printed the letter before he had seen it, Mr. Böll answered the officer in the newspaper's pages on Sept. 7.

"No, my very honored colonel, I am not endangering against the American Army, which freed me and my family from German terror," he wrote. "I am demonstrating against the American policy of the present American government, insofar as they concern us, and they concern us very much."

He continued: "I have found nothing in your letter on the matter itself, on the reason for the blockade, on the missiles, and I have found only a little on disobedience, obedience. Ask yourself and your soldiers just once what the particularly obedient Germans Eichmann, Barbie, Hörs have done and, by contrast, what beneficence was bestowed by the few disobedient Germans, and not just the men and women of the resistance."

The novelist insists there is no parallel between resistance to the Nazis and resistance to the West German government today. "When Germans hear resistance, they think of July 20," he said, referring to the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Hitler in 1944. "But we must learn, and especially we Germans, that resistance is not only possible and allowed in relationships. There is resistance that men must pattern every day."

Mr. Böll said that, in contrast with the Weimar Republic, West German writers and intellectuals "fully accept this state and its unique constitution." Heinrich Weimer, which crumbled after Hitler's takeover, was weakened from the start by the monarchist loyalties of the military and political establishment.

"But we see that we really are a republic," he added. "We are."

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Encumbered Build-Down

The Reagan administration has finally negotiated a strategic arms deal — but only with key members of Congress, not with the Russians. The flexible-sounding proposal for a "build-down" — trading new warheads for unsold older ones — is a nod to some American legislators to win their support for missile budgets. But it has been grafted to a familiar demand that Moscow restructure its missile force much more than Washington.

Even if not thus encumbered, the build-down would require years of negotiation and a decade or two to accomplish. The best way to get there is still through a compromise on pending proposals for sizable cutbacks.

The appeal of the build-down is that it would reward the superpowers for shifting to less threatening missiles while they modernize. For example, deploying a desirable, mobile single-warhead missile might be allowed for dismantling only one old warhead. But building an undesirable, immobile multi-warhead missile might require dismantling two old warheads for every new one. President Reagan's new proposals adopt this idea, contributing significantly to the arms discussion.

But Mr. Reagan's proposals demand a simultaneous build-down in "destructive capacity," or missile throw-weight, which is just another way of again demanding sharp cuts in Soviet land missiles. It is unrealistic — even in return for the cuts in American bomber payloads that may now be offered.

The most valid concern of the Reagan administration arises from the asymmetry in Soviet and American strategic forces. They are roughly equal in total destructive power, but much of America's force is in relatively unthreatening, second-strike, sea-based submarines and bombers, while most Soviet power is in multi-warhead land missiles that pose a theoretical "first-strike" threat.

What is worrisome in this imbalance, however, is not the size, the throw-weight or the accuracy of Soviet missiles, as the Reagan administration contends. The danger lies in multi-warhead missiles facing immobile missiles, producing a theoretical "exchange ratio"

advantage for a pre-emptive first strike — an attacker's calculation that he could spend one missile with 10 warheads to destroy five enemy missiles with 50 warheads.

Abandon multi-warhead weapons and a first strike becomes unthinkable. It would take at least two single-warhead missiles to destroy one enemy warhead, and an even greater ratio to take out mobile weapons. Stable deterrence in the longer run requires a gradual shift to single-warhead missiles. But to keep focusing on throw-weight is to keep asking the Russians to scrap half of their land forces. They will not do that any time soon, and stability has to be improved initially in other ways.

The obsession with throw-weight also gets in the way of two promising arms control concepts. One is the Sincrofit commission's endorsement of shifting to single-warhead missiles. The other is the build-down idea advanced by Senator William Cohen, Representative Albert Gore and four colleagues. Both groups agreed to support the MX missile in return for acceptance of their ideas. But the administration accepts those ideas more in principle than in deed. It is pushing for a 10-warhead MX in vulnerable silos, not for a mobile one-warhead Midgetman.

The build-down idea, in any case, cannot be attained in less than 10 years. It is the most complicated arms control idea ever.

In the meantime there is no reason for not seizing on the pending offers of reductions. The Russians have proposed cutting the missile and bomber ceiling of 2,250 in the unratified SALT-2 treaty down to 1,800; the United States has proposed about 1,600. That is a negotiable distance. By converting those numbers into warhead equivalents, Mr. Reagan might be able to achieve much of the cutback he initially proposed, from about 7,500 to 5,000 missile warheads on each side.

Something along these lines is said to have been urged by the State Department in recent days. Such a reduction would set the stage for build-down and represent a valuable achievement in its own right.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Lebanese Question

The question of Lebanon is whether there is a Lebanon, a real nation underneath the torment and the fractures, or whether the original Lebanese idea of a community of communities is simply a historical anomaly or colonial artifice whose time has come and gone.

There is an element of unfairness in calling upon Lebanon to address that question. The question is in many ways offensive; other countries, hardly less ethnically splintered and embattled, are not often called upon to address it. The political circumstances, however, make it unavoidable. For the very suggestion, which is more than a suggestion, that Lebanon is not a real nation, that its plainly existing hatreds and divisions are its ultimate reality, is feeding a go-with-the-flow movement to "ratify" this reality in the form of either a partition into Syrian and Israeli buffer spheres of influence, or establishment of "cantons" to house the separate communities.

In a sense, the United States is already a party to this hidden concept. The American political system was convulsed by the first casualties among U.S. Marines in the peace-keeping force. There is scant evident taste for much further expenditure of American resources in behalf of the longtime formal goal of Lebanese integrity. In Lebanon the suspi-

cion lingers that Washington bought the Ge-mayel government some part of the recent cease-fire by winking at Syria's Lebanese interests and clients. Add the interest of many American diplomats in weaning Syria from Soviet patronage to the traditional American favor for Israel and you will understand much about the anxieties of the Lebanese.

We think it is wrong to yield lightly to the "reality" of no Lebanon. To do so would mean backing off from a decades-long commitment to its integrity — a lapse that would rebound throughout the area, and not only there. There is no denying the immense contribution that Lebanese have made to their own despair. But there is also no denying — here the "realists" come up short — the immense contribution made by intruding foreigners: most grievously the Palestinians, but also in their respective measures the Israelis, the Syrians and others.

The current thrust of U.S. policy is to walk the Lebanese toward internal political reform, and in that way to firm up the sense of nationhood and the authority of the central government and convince Syrians and Israelis that their interests can best be served if their troops move back behind their own borders. It is a risky uphill policy, but it deserves a fair trial.

— THE WASHINGTON POST

Democrats on Broadway

The 1984 presidential campaign, it might be said, opened on Broadway Thursday night when six present or former U.S. senators and a former governor of Florida joined at Town Hall in an atmosphere more of celebration than of competition. The campaign began months, years ago — back in January 1982, say, when a Democratic rules commission met in Washington and supporters of Walter Mondale and Edward Kennedy worked the smoke-filled room with skill. As the months passed there have been caucuses and cattle shows and endorsements. But in a real sense that has all been preview, all New Haven. On Thursday the seven announced Democratic candidates joined together for the first time.

Senator John Glenn bristled when a questioner compared his feat in space to jumping a river canyon on a motorcycle. Senators Alan Cranston and Ernest Hollings sparred about what it meant to vote for a Reagan tax bill. Reubin Askew, President Carter's trade negotiator, challenged Mr. Mondale to tell why he favors inhibiting free trade. But that was about the extent of the disagreement. Who is most for the War Powers Resolution or reliable

arms control or peace? Who would do the most for human rights or against the "feminization of poverty"? They all would.

Still, the position of each and all was demonstrably different from that of a president with decidedly harsher views of cities and the poor. The early focus on New York is not just an exercise in provincial longing for the glory days when New York was the biggest state and to be its governor was to be America's crown prince. Opening on Broadway fastens the candidates' attention on urban needs and values — which, as Senator Gary Hart pointed out, are so well illustrated in New York.

New Yorkers can be more liberal, knowing intimately about the needs of the urban poor and about the pothole duties that America imposes on its big cities. They can also be more conservative, knowing intimately about fiscal crisis and about crime. And sometimes their interests are simply special. As Governor Mario Cuomo observed of the seven candidates, "I'm sure they were surprised to hear the question about a special envoy to Ireland raised at every forum."

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

FROM OUR OCT. 10 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1908: Grief at the Polo Grounds
NEW YORK — The mortality of clerks' and office boys' relatives is alarming. It is estimated that two thousand grandmothers had died. Wall Street, in a body, was at the funeral at the polo grounds. From a Wall Street point of view, war clouds and politics are trivial matters until the pennant is decided. The few brokers left on the job brought in their luncheon, as there was no one to keep their offices. Hundreds of special parties from Wall Street went to see the final game and millions had to stand in line with tickets. By defeating New York by 4-2, Chicago against the National League baseball championship. The biggest funeral procession that the world ever saw filed out of the Polo Grounds.

1933: The Newark Stock Exchange?
NEW YORK — The NRA, whose progress has been discussed almost to the exclusion of other matters in the financial community since late summer, faded perceptibly into the background of public interest recently, states an article by Edward H. Collins, Associate Financial Editor of the New York Herald Tribune. This was because of other substantial events, among them a fresh flood of contradictory and confusing dispatches from Washington concerning the prospects of currency inflation, the most serious break in the bond market in many months, and, finally, the amazing revelation that the Stock Exchange really was very much in earnest in its plan to move, bag and baggage, from Wall Street to Newark.

Under an Anti-Intellectual Presidency

By William Pfaff

PARIS — The Reagan administration is the first American presidency since Franklin Roosevelt's to have come to power as the expression of a set of ideas — of a new intellectual movement in America. The Kennedy campaign in 1960 had plenty of intellectuals in it, who took over Washington when John Kennedy won the presidency, but it cannot really be said that they represented something new. They stood firmly in that line of liberal thought and practice that began in domestic policy with Roosevelt's New Deal and in international policy with Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points.

The Reagan case is strange. He and the people closest to him are anything but intellectuals, and his government is proving in office to be the most anti-intellectual in a generation. Yet he was the candidate of the widest array of thinkers known as the neo-conservatives, who represent a revisionist reaction to years of liberal domination of government, universities and the press.

They stand for a revised economics, monetarism and key to the free market, and for heavy reliance on private initiative in social and economic matters. They are, most of them, relatively uncritical admirers of capitalism in its American form. In foreign policy they are ferociously anti-communist — with the same intransigence that most of them devoted to Trotskyism or socialism at the beginning of their careers.

Yet when Ronald Reagan won the presidential election in 1980 it was not Irving Kristol, Norman Podhoretz, James Decter, Robert Nisbet, Seymour Lipset, George G. Wilson or George Will who moved into the offices which 20 years earlier had been occupied by Harvard and MIT intellectuals. Mr. Reagan invited the neo-conservative editors, professors and writers to dinner, but, with the exception of Jeanne Kirkpatrick of

Georgetown University, who is now ambassador to the United Nations, he did not give them responsibilities for U.S. policy.

The people to whom he did award power were nearly all from business circles, the military, even from entertainment, few of them with any intellectual pretensions. Secretary of State George Shultz is the closest Reagan administration has to a professional thinker, but he was formed as a university economist and has not proved very effective in controlling a presidential foreign policy that more and more has become a matter of intellectual shows of force in situations (Lebanon, Central America) manifestly ill-suited to the kind of thing that can eventually undermine a nation's authority, and which invites miscalculation.

The administration distrusts the universities and all but the most conservative research institutions. International exchanges involving Russians are considered dangerous, tainted by détente. Federal funds have been reduced or cut out for scholarly enterprises of the sort which in the past have routinely included Russians. Such non-governmental groups as the National Academy of Sciences have been picked up sponsorship of some of these exchanges, but the official policy community in Washington is being cut off from international dialogue and exchange, and even from the university circles where this takes place.

That is bad for the Russians, who in the past have learned serious things from such exchanges, and for the United States as well. It reinforces the tendency among Americans, intellectuals and government officials assuredly included, to disregard foreign realities and take the United

States as the norm — refusing "any other position but No. 1," as helicopter pilot Dennis Conner put it minutes after the Australians had proved that in 12-meter racing, at least, the United States is certainly in position No. 2.

Academic intellectuals in government are no unmitigated blessing, and it could aptly be argued — most appropriately by a neo-conservative intellectual — that a president of the United States does better to rely on practical men and women of affairs, professional managers and career diplomats. This, though, is not what the Reagan administration has done.

In too many areas Mr. Reagan has handed power to cronies and amateurs, and these amateurs are enforcing amateur standards upon the career professionals in government. This inevitably does damage to government's functioning, but also to America's reputation abroad as a competent and serious nation.

These people also are cutting off the government from the larger intellectual community in the United States — from the universities and those independent research institutions which since World War II have cooperated with government and helped to make it work.

One would think that this does Mr. Reagan no good, since any president needs all the help he can get, even from intellectuals, neo-conservative or not. But does he understand that this is so? The problem is that ignorance has been institutionalized. H.I. Mendelsohn said of American government in 1920, "One may howl over the show without any uneasy reminders that it is serious, and that someone may be hurt." That, of course, is today just what we can no longer do.

International Herald Tribune
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To Achieve Arms Control You Have to Want It

By Tom Wicker

WASHINGTON — When Averell Harriman arrived in Moscow in the summer of 1963, a reporter asked how long it would take him and his team to negotiate a ban on nuclear tests in the atmosphere. Thinking fast, Mr. Harriman decided to send a signal to the Kremlin. "About two weeks," he answered. "If Premier Khrushchev wants a treaty as badly as President Kennedy does."

Just 13 days later, as Mr. Harriman recalled to an audience gathered last week to honor him and the 20th anniversary of the Limited Test Ban Treaty, the work of the Soviet-American negotiators was done.

That was possible, he said, because both sides wanted a treaty. And he added that his only regret, two decades after that first arms control success, was that "we didn't go after" a comprehensive treaty that would have banned nuclear tests underground as well as in the atmosphere, the oceans and space.

Had such a treaty been concluded then, Mr. Harriman observed, many nuclear weapons systems that now threaten the world could never have come into existence.

Jerome Wiesner, who was President Kennedy's science adviser, also suggested that the moment might have been lost in 1963. Speaking earlier at the dinner sponsored by the Arms Control Association, he said Mr. Kennedy had been greatly encouraged by a tour of Western states 20 years ago this autumn, during which crowds had roared approval of the Limited Test Ban Treaty.

Mr. Wiesner said Mr. Kennedy told him that if he had realized how much public support there was, he might have been more willing to insist on a comprehensive test ban.

The issue arose again during the Carter administration when the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union virtually completed a Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) treaty in which, for the first time, Moscow agreed to on-site inspections as part of the necessary verification procedures. Paul Warnke, then the U.S. negotiator, told the audience that he now wondered whether higher priority should not have been given to the CTB rather than to SALT-2, which ultimately was not ratified.

Mr. Wiesner and Mr. Warnke agreed that in the Kennedy administration, as later under President Carter, opposition within the U.S. government — in the Pentagon, in Congress, at the national nuclear laboratory — as well as in the "anti-industrial complex" and the press had been a bigger obstacle than the Soviet Union to agreement on a comprehensive test ban.

We don't have such a treaty, Mr. Warnke said, "because we don't want it." Instead, internal pressures to continue testing for new nuclear weapons systems and to improve old ones have been too strong.

Another former Carter administration official suggested in a private conversation that, owing to internal U.S. government opposition to a comprehensive treaty, the better course might have been to concentrate on a treaty banning all tests except those of relatively low yield. That way, he said, Moscow might at

least have been "locked in" to the concessions — such as on-site inspections — that it had been willing to make in the CTB negotiations.

McGeorge Bundy, President Kennedy's national security adviser, recalled for the dinner audience the sequence of events leading to the 1963 Test Ban Treaty.

In late 1961 the Soviet Union conducted a series of atmospheric tests, breaking a moratorium that had been observed by both sides. The United States responded with a test series of its own, and in the summer of 1962 Moscow embarked on still another round of testing.

But this time, Mr. Bundy said, Mr.

Kennedy took the initiative to break the cycle, deciding, in effect, "OK, you have two series and I have one. And it doesn't matter." Ultimately, in his American University speech of 1963, Mr. Kennedy pledged again that the United States would not test in the atmosphere if no one else did.

Three weeks later Mr. Khrushchev replied favorably, and Averell Harriman was sent to Moscow.

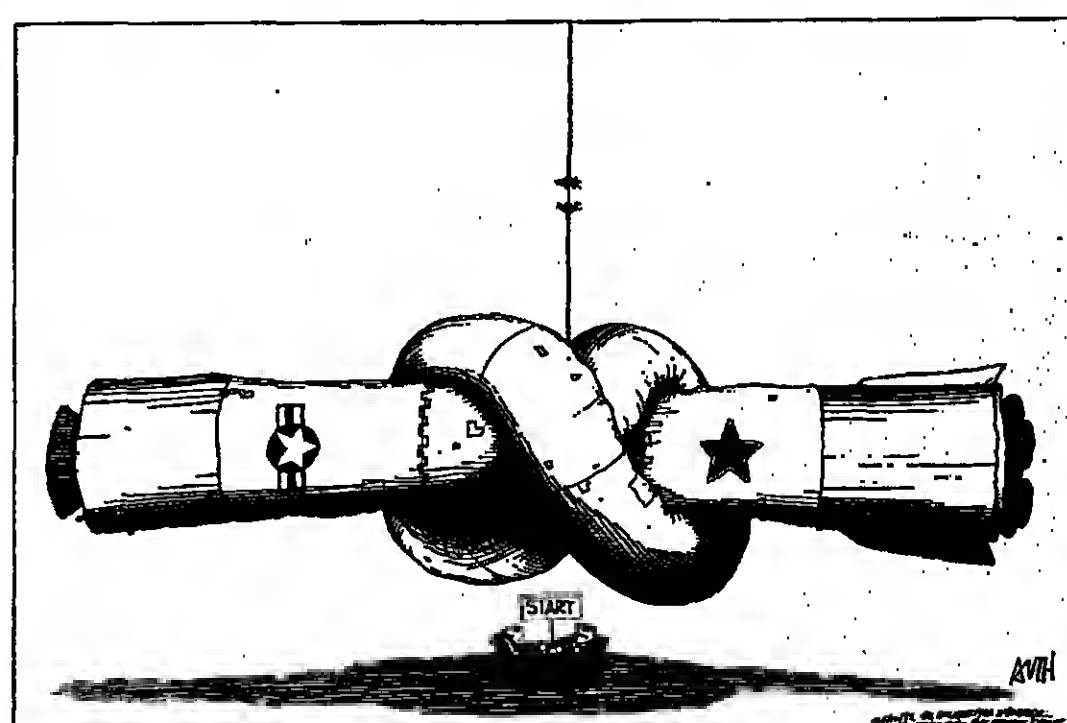
The resulting treaty, Mr. Bundy said, "was the most constructive event I was ever associated with." He warned that it would be harder now to achieve a comprehensive treaty because, ironically, the public's fear of nuclear fallout from atmo-

spheric tests — "the most compelling single force" behind the 1963 treaty — had been eliminated by that treaty. Moreover, Mr. Bundy pointed out, the "range of armaments" on both sides is far more complex now.

For these reasons and due to continuing opposition within the U.S. government, Mr. Bundy said, no major arms control agreement could be achieved without "the authority of the president's voice" forcefully taking the lead in seeking it.

As for Mr. Harriman, he saw a clear lesson in the experience of 1963 and of a U.S.-Soviet treaty successfully observed for 20 years. "There's no reason," he said, "to be afraid to make agreements to limit arms."

The New York Times



The Geneva Talks Look Foredoomed

By Don Cook

GENEVA — As the countdown continues for deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe, the nuclear arms negotiations in Geneva are taking on the atmosphere of a diplomatic wake.

Yuri Andropov, with his denunciation of President Reagan and the latest American move to open new doors in Geneva, has ruthlessly quashed even the faintest flicker of hope for a last-minute breakthrough.

Moreover, through various channels Moscow Union has warned Washington that it can expect a complete rupture of both the Intermediate Nuclear Force talks and the parallel Strategic Arms Reduction Talks once the NATO deployment of new missiles gets under way this December in West Germany and Britain.

So the current round of nuclear negotiations is likely to be the last one for many months. The hiatus is likely to be a long one.

A breakdown in Geneva may be something the Reagan administration feels it can live with, but it is not

going to be that easy for the European countries where the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles are to be placed — West Germany in particular, along with Britain and Italy, and then Belgium and Holland, where cruise missiles are not scheduled to be deployed until 1985 but where the political opposition is strongest.

It is not so much a "hot autumn" of anti-nuclear demonstrations that worries the NATO governments as the prospect of a "hot spring" with the nuclear buildup going on and no talks in progress in Geneva that might offer at least a semblance of hope that somehow another spiral of nuclear weaponry can be contained.

The prospect is equally evident to the Soviet Union, and it is likely to harden the Soviet leadership in its determination to negotiate nothing in Geneva but instead to break off the talks and to sit back and wait for the politics of 1984 to unfold in the

United States and Western Europe. If the talks are broken off, it will not be hard to make clear to the people of Europe where the responsibility lies. The difficulty will come if the NATO governments have to go through 1984 with no progress in the effort to reduce nuclear arms.

"The simple truth," a senior American official said recently, "is that there has never been any negotiation at all here on the intermediate-range missiles in the last two years."

"If you go all the way back to 1979, when NATO took the decision to deploy Pershing 2 and cruise missiles, it was laid down in Moscow that the aim of Soviet policy would be to block the weapons from arriving in Europe at all," said the official, who declined to be identified.

The hope had been that this basic Soviet position would give way to reality as deployment day approached. But it has not. There will be a lot of pieces to be picked up and put back together again in 1984.

Los Angeles Times

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Italy and the Lebanese Mission

Regarding "Europe Worries About Lebanon Role" (Herald, Sept. 26) by John Vinocur:

A poll carried out last month by the independent Macao institute and widely publicized in the Italian press on Sept. 25 found that 58.2 percent of Italians desired the immediate withdrawal of their national contingent from Lebanon, and that a further 26.6 percent were ready to accept its continued presence in Beirut exclusively on the condition that it should in no way become involved in war activities and that its function should continue to be strictly limited to the protection of the civilian population, in particular the Palestinian camp population, in West Beirut. If this is "no bringing-the-boys-home ground swell," what is?

Likewise, it is completely false that "the only opposition to an Italian military role in Lebanon has come from the Communists and far-left splinter groups," or that "parliamentary debates have reflected pride in an exceptional assignment." In the first place, leftist parties led by not more than one-third of the national vote — not exactly a marginal proportion. Secondly, the movement calling for the withdrawal of the Italian contingent

from Lebanon was launched and continues to be animated by the very military assigned to Lebanon, and their families, who by no stretch of the imagination can be classified as being only leftists.

The latter have addressed to President Sandro Pertini a petition in which the withdrawal request is motivated by the fear — anything but irrational — that the humanitarian peace mission originally assigned to the contingent might be transformed, due to the renewed outbreak of the hostilities, into one involving war activities.

Thirdly, had Mr. Vinocur made the slightest effort to consult the parliamentary record, he would easily have found out:

■ That similar concern has been expressed in parliamentary debates by a broad spectrum of senators and deputies, including members of major government parties such as the Christian Democrats and the Socialists and excluding only the extreme right-wingers and notoriously fanatic supporters of U.S. power politics;

■ That any expressions of "pride" that has been voiced in the debates related indeed to the fact that, differently from the U.S. and French troops in Lebanon, the Italian contingent has so far not been assigned a military role but has on the contrary maintained its civilian protection function,

mainly around the Palestinian camps, carrying it out to the best of its ability (although within the very lamentable limits imposed upon it by the political agreements), for example in regard to the prevention of kidnappings and arbitrary arrests of civilians by the official and unofficial Phalangist guards of the Gemayel regime;

■ That in marked contrast with Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini — whose Republican Party represents 5.1 percent of the Italian vote and whose main concern is to prevent any disavowal of the Italian position from that of the U.S. administration — both Prime Minister Bettino Craxi, a Socialist, and Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, a Christian Democrat, have pledged that no change would be operated in the role so far assigned to the Italian contingent in Lebanon, in a war-involvement sense, unless such change should be decided by Parliament, which is more than doubtful.

A large majority of Italian public opinion continues to seek withdrawal of the contingent from Lebanon and replacement of the multinational force now stationed in that country by a United Nations-controlled peacekeeping force.

SENATOR ENZO ENRIQUES AGNOLETTI
Rome.

Numbers That Guide Democrats

By Barry Sussman

WASHINGTON — For months, opinion polls have projected John Glenn as a stronger candidate than Walter Mondale or any other Democrat against Ronald Reagan in 1984. The reason most often cited is Senator Glenn's appeal to independent voters, the largest swing group in any presidential election.

"Go with the candidate who can win" has been the main theme of Glenn supporters. Is that message correct? Are the polls really saying there are many who would support Mr. Glenn but not Mr. Mondale?

The simple answer is yes, but equally important is that there are many who say they would support Mr. Mondale but not Mr. Glenn. There is little difference between the percentage of Mondale-yes, Glenn-no voters and the reverse group.

A Gallup survey, issued in September, showed Mr. Mondale ahead by 49 to 30 percent among Democrats, with 21 percent undecided. That is still a substantial lead for Mr. Mondale, but it is down eight points from the Gallup Poll in June, when 57 percent of Democrats interviewed were for Mr. Mondale, 31 percent for Mr. Glenn and 12 percent undecided.

The effect of Mr. Glenn's "He can win" strategy seems to be to make people think twice about Mr. Mondale. Voters and state party organizations do not seem to be jumping toward Mr. Glenn but are moving from Mr. Mondale to "undecided."

Much of that shift comes from voters who very much want a Democrat, who can win, and are therefore receptive to Mr. Glenn's message. But if those Democrats study the full picture, the Glenn theme could end up as less important than now.

Taking the results of the last three Washington Post-ABC News polls and looking at them as one — in order to have larger, more reliable numbers to work with — the electorate in a mock campaign looks like this, omitting the undecided:

■ 42 percent of the voters support Ronald Reagan against Mr. Mondale or Mr. Glenn; 44 percent support either Democrat against Mr. Reagan.

■ Slightly over 8 percent support Mr. Glenn over Mr. Reagan, but slightly under 6 percent support Mr. Mondale over Mr. Reagan, but prefer Mr. Reagan over Mr. Glenn.

So there is a 2-point difference between the numbers of those voters who like Mr. Glenn but not Mr. Mondale and vice versa.

If the difference between the pro-Mondale, anti-Glenn vote and the reverse is so small, why have Glenn supporters been able to make so much effective use of the numbers?

For millions of Americans, President Reagan, by his commanding presence and his ability to get his way with Congress, has dispelled the myth that "it doesn't matter who is elected, nothing ever changes." Things have changed, substantially.

Correct or not, the slogan "He can win" has a lot of appeal to people, who care more about the outcome than they did four or eight years ago. The Glenn camp has played on that appeal for all it is worth.

But there is a second reason. The arithmetic in the three Post-ABC News polls lends some credence to Mr. Glenn's slogan. The 2-percent advantage does mean the difference between winning and not winning, or more accurately, between being and not being ahead at this stage.

In the Reagan-Mondale trial heats, the president gets his 42 percent plus the 8 percent who say they would vote for Glenn but not Mondale. That makes the outcome 50 percent for Reagan, 50 percent for Mondale.

In the Reagan-Glenn trial heat, Mr. Reagan gets 42 percent plus the 6 percent who say they would vote for Mondale but not Glenn. The outcome is Reagan 48 percent, Glenn 52.

People often ask what effect polls have on elections. The answer from most pollsters has been that polls have no discernible effect. If Mr. Glenn is successful, however, the polls will have had a major impact for 1984, for they will have sustained him at just the point when he might have fallen into the pack with the rest of the Democratic hopefuls.

Early this year, Mr. Mondale and Mr. Glenn both held commanding leads over Mr. Reagan, but Mr. Glenn was not far ahead of the four other Democrats who were then seeking the nomination. But starting in March, as most citizens began to perceive that America was in a period of economic recovery, Mr. Reagan became stronger in the polls until the stage of equilibrium — for Mr. Glenn — was reached. It was Mr. Reagan's improvement that enabled Mr. Glenn to burst away from the pack.

In the same sense, poll results in the next few months could be crucial. Many Democratic organizations are doing what many of the rank and file have been doing: switching from Mr. Mondale to undecided.

In Massachusetts, Governor Michael Dukakis was expected to endorse Mr. Mondale months ago, but any Dukakis endorsement is now in abeyance. The same is true of Governor Mario Cuomo and Democratic organizations in New York and in other states. Democratic leaders are waiting to see what the polls say.

The stronger Mr. Reagan gets, the better for Mr. Mondale, since if he and Mr. Glenn fell substantially behind, the "He can win" slogan would be of little help. Mr. Mondale would also profit if he and Mr. Glenn re-established strong leads in trial heats against the president.

If the polls continue to portend a race that is really too close to call, the 2-percent edge could prevail for Mr. Glenn. Three of the last six presidential elections were decided by less than 2 percent of the vote. And these days, perhaps more than in 1980, the Democrats look as if they will want their candidate to win.

The Washington Post

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EUROBONDS

By CARL GEWIRTZ

M-1 Rise Disappoints Market's Hope For a Realignment of Bond Prices

PARIS — A \$600-million increase in the U.S. money supply reported late Friday by the Federal Reserve while not especially large was disappointing for bond markets convinced that the latest figures would show a decline of at least that size.

This is especially bad news for the Eurobond market, where interest rates have declined much further than those in New York. Thus, either bond prices in New York need to rise, justifying the Eurobonds, or Eurobond prices have to fall to come into line with conditions in New York.

The best example of this is the million of seven-year notes. Priced at par bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent, the notes ended the week quoted at a discount of 14-1/4 points.

At a discount of 1 1/4, the World Bank paper yielded five basis points less than comparable U.S. Treasury notes in New York. Normally, bankers say, World Bank paper would be expected to yield about 50 basis points (half a percentage point) over Treasuries.

"The World Bank issue was aggressively priced, but the paper is selling," an investor said. "There is a U.K. banker said. But, he warned, 'there is a psychological risk. If New York fails to move ahead there could be an enormous correction' in Eurobond prices."

Australia also tapped the seven-year market with an offering of \$100 million priced at par bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent. But Australia is an infrequent borrower — its last Eurodollar bond was in 1978 (it raised \$400 million in New York last year, part of which came from abroad). As a result, its notes ended the week at a thin 1/4-point discount.

At the same time, Australia sold \$300 million of 12-year bonds, at par bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent, and \$100 million of 15-year bonds, priced at par bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent.

The 12-year paper, reflecting the larger amount, ended the week quoted at a discount of 1 1/4-2 points while the 15-year bonds were quoted less 1 1/2-1 3/4.

Canadian Offering Awaited
Still awaited is a \$500-million offering from Canada. Rumors Friday said the government was holding back waiting until it could issue paper at less than 11 percent, possibly 4 1/2-year notes bearing a coupon of 10 1/2 percent.

Gazette of the Netherlands, another highly regarded and infrequent borrower, sold \$75 million of seven-year notes bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent. Priced at 99 1/4, the notes ended the week at a slim discount of 3/4-1 point.

Farm Credit Corp., a Canadian crown agency, sold \$75 million of 10-year bonds at a discount of 99 1/4, bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent. This issue ended the week quoted at less 1 1/4-1 1/2.

Rio Tinto-Zinc, trying to better Britain's 11 1/4 of 1990 (which ended the week at 100 1/4) offered \$100 million (out from an intended \$150 million) of 10-year bonds at par bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent. The RTZ bonds ended the week at a steep discount of 97 1/2-98.

Dresdner Bank, taking advantage of the market's appetite for floating rate paper and equity-linked paper, issued \$400 million of floating rates. Interest on the 10-year notes is set at a quarter-point over the average of the six-month bid-offered interbank rate.

Attached to each \$100,000 note are warrants to buy 25 Dresdner shares at a price of 172 Deutsche marks each, the price then prevailing on the Frankfurt exchange. However, the notes themselves were sold for \$10,500. The \$300 price over the face value of the notes was the cost Dresdner put on the value of the warrants.

Thus, the warrant for each share was valued at \$20, equal to about 52 cents of the share's value at \$36. (Continued on Page 9, Col. 1)

Reduced Rates for Brazil Mean Little, Bankers Say

By Carl Gewirtz
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Bankers agreed to reduce interest rates on Brazil's new floating rate bonds last week, cutting some \$55 million off commissions and about \$12 million in annual interest charges over the next five years compared with the fees Brazil paid last year.

The view of members of the 60-bank committee coordinating the syndicated loans is that the reduction in rates is a small concession, but it is a concession.

The decision to participate is simply not rate-sensitive, members of the coordinating committee said. They explain that the reduced fees are aimed at facilitating the Brazilian government's ability to pay domestic support for the austerity measures that were required by the International Monetary Fund.

Privately, bankers acknowledge that the question of fees and margins is superfluous. "They can't afford to pay a margin of 2 1/4, or 2 or 1 point," says a U.S. banker. Europeans agree. "The only so-

lution, if Brazil is to get out of the woods, is for their interest costs to be slashed to somewhere between 3 and 7 percent," says a Continental banker.

The ideal solution, he says, would be for interest rates in general to tumble. That would reduce the cost of borrowing for Brazil and the prime rate of U.S. banks, the base rates for syndicated dollar credits that currently stand at 9 1/4 percent and 11 percent respectively.

If that does not happen soon, he continues, Brazil's lenders will have to face up to the fact that it cannot pay either the margin or the base rate and some way will have to be found to subsidize a lower interest charge.

The big banks, say the 50 largest ones, could easily cut their charges without suffering any real loss because their cost to get money to lend is much below the interbank rate or the prime rate. But the hundreds of smaller institutions that have to borrow the funds they lend have little scope for such reductions.

But, "sooner or later the reality has to be faced," another European banker says. "We do have a loss situation. The question then is what can we do to minimize the loss."

Meanwhile, in Europe, bankers were joyfully piling into a \$300-million loan for Portugal. By Friday night, 13 banks had agreed to underwrite \$25 million each and a 14th acceptance was expected, raising the possibility that the total could be increased by \$50 million. Banks are eager to be seen supporting Portugal. (Continued on Page 13, Col. 5)



Food vendors in Kinshasa before devaluation of currency. Under austerity measures announced by President Mobutu Sese Seko, top right, the price of staples has risen sharply.

Zaire Devaluation Raises Potential for Unrest

By Michael T. Kaufman

New York Times Service

KINSHASA, Zaire — Three weeks ago Zaire devalued its currency overnight by 80 percent. Last Thursday, armed plainclothesmen attached to the office of President Mobutu Sese Seko swept through this capital city at dawn to search every hotel room for weapons.

The two events were closely linked. As the social costs of the monetary overhaul start to bite, as prices of staples rise and as an elite of black marketeers faces shrunken payoffs, the potential for civil unrest and political turbulence is also rising.

"The situation is very tense," said a Western ambassador with 20 years' experience in Africa. "This is the greatest challenge to Mobutu's 18-year rule since the French, the Mo-

roccans, the Belgians and the Americans helped him repel the invasion of Shaba five years ago" by rebels based in Angola.

The challenge comes from stringent conditions laid down by the International Monetary Fund in return for an allotment of \$350 million over the next 15 months, conditions that Mr. Mobutu had to accept as Zaire's stock of foreign currency nearly vanished. He is counting on intensified vigilance and passionate exhortation to get him through the crisis.

"This will be a year of rigors," the president said as he spelled out the devaluation and the related austerity measures demanded by the IMF. "It is a bitter pill which we have no alternative but to swallow."

He was addressing a meeting last week of the central committee of his Popular Revolutionary Movement, the country's only party, which is openly ridiculed here as neither popular nor revolutionary and showing little movement.

The president appealed for "revolutionary discipline" and "civil pride" in the face of economic hardships. And he called on the nation to search out agitators who he said sought to undermine the single-party system.

In this politically aware and very cynical capital, where real news most often travels on the "sidewalk telegraph," the identity of the unnamed agitators was immediately apparent. They were widely understood to be the supporters of 13 former members of the National Legislative Council, or parliament, who have been urging democratic reforms ever since their release from jail in May.

The 13 were purged from the parliament in November 1980 when they wrote an open letter to the president, calling for an open



The New York Times

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Argentine Court Overturns Rule On Debt Talks

By Martin Andersen

Washington Post Service

BUENOS AIRES — A federal appeals court Saturday struck down an injunction that for more than two weeks had frozen efforts to renegotiate Argentina's foreign debt.

The independent news agency Noticias Argentinas said the decision in the southern city of Comodoro Rivadavia to disqualify Judge Federico Pinto Kramer, who ordered the freeze Sept. 26, appeared to pave the way for resumption of the talks.

Financial sources here said the central bank president, Julio Gonzalez del Solar, met Friday with representatives of foreign banks, urging them to extend refinancing talks beyond the Oct. 17 deadline.

Mr. Gonzalez del Solar, who was imprisoned for three days last week as a result of a probe into the legality of a renegotiation package, reportedly told the bankers that any agreement reached now, three weeks before national elections, would be of questionable acceptability to the incoming government. He said Friday that Argentina was ready to resume talks on rescheduling as soon as the freeze was lifted.

In the past few days there have been increasing demands by civilian politicians, including the Peronist party's presidential candidate, Italo Luder, that a 90-day

moratorium on debt payments be declared so that the incoming government not be saddled with an agreement reached by the departing military regime.

A steering committee of foreign banks that monitors Argentina's debt is to meet Tuesday in New York, financial sources said.

The decision by the Comodoro Rivadavia court appeared to put an end to the controversy begun last month when Mr. Pinto Kramer, from his court in the Patagonian city of Rio Gallegos, seemed to be singlehandedly pushing the country into default.

The judge, a right-wing nationalist with ties to the air force, shook the international financial community and political and banking sectors here by ordering that the urgent debt negotiations be held up while he investigated whether Argentine law was violated by the signing last month of a \$220-million refinancing of the bank debt of the state airline. The accord was to serve as a model for negotiations on another \$5.5 billion in maturing debts and was a prerequisite for the disbursement of \$500 million in fresh credit.

The refinancing agreement was assailed by many politicians and military officers as a violation of Argentine sovereignty. Mr. Pinto Kramer also criticized a clause that said disputes arising out of the package were to be resolved in New York courts.

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U.S. to Cut in Half Size Of Pacific Oil Lease Sale

Los Angeles Times Service

LOS ANGELES — The U.S. Interior Department has agreed to cut in half the size of its coming oil lease sale off the central California coast and to impose stringent emission controls on the new leases.

It was the first time that the department had acknowledged that offshore oil-and-gas activities could pollute air on shore.

The agreements were made public Friday.

The memorandum of agreement also covers other environmental issues including oil spills, protection of sea otters, conflicts with commercial fishing and placement of oil-treatment facilities.

Environmentalists and spokesmen for the California Coastal Commission, however, criticized the agreement as not going far enough and said that they probably would sue the department in an effort to stop the sale.

The sale area now contains about 900,000 acres (360,000 hectares) offshore between Point Conception and Morro Bay, having been cut nearly in half from the 1.7 million acres originally proposed.

The Minerals Management Service agreed to delete 38 of the 46 tracts that California had asked it not to lease. It also agreed to a U.S. Defense Department request to delete 121 tracts that might conflict with missile tests.

The lease sale is part of Interior Secretary James G. Watt's controversial plan to lease a billion acres for the development of offshore oil and gas.

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M-1 News Seen as No Cause for Rate Concern

By Yla Eason

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The news of a relatively small increase in the narrow money supply of the U.S. money supply prompted a minimal reaction in American credit markets as prices maintained the downward momentum established before the figure was released. Interest rates rose modestly.

According to the Federal Reserve System report made late Friday, the measure, known as M-1, rose by \$600 million for the week ended Sept. 28.

Many analysts had predicted that the measure would be anywhere from unchanged to down by \$500 million. But they said they did not expect the slight increase to put upward pressure on rates because the aggregate is still about \$3 billion below the Fed's target range.

The Fed has set an annual money growth rate of 5 percent to 9 percent.

U.S. CREDIT MARKETS

cent growth for the year for M-1, which measures currency and checks in public hands and checking and similar accounts in banks that are considered readily available for spending.

Trading was tight throughout Friday, dominated by professional buyers whose profit taking margin-

ally depressed prices. Traders noted that dealers squared books in advance of the Columbus Day holiday on Monday, when U.S. government security trading will be suspended. Banks will also be closed.

After the money supply figures were released, prices, which were already down about one-third of a point, dropped another one-third to one-quarter of a point, and yields rose by about 0.2 percent.

The focus of many market participants quickly shifted to the minutes of the Aug. 23 meeting of the Federal Open Market Committee, also released Friday. The committee is the policy-setting arm of the Federal Reserve System and its minutes, which are released about six weeks after each meeting, are scrutinized for clues about the course set by the Fed.

After analyzing the August minutes, some analysts concluded that the Fed eased policy modestly during September.

U.S. Consumer Rates

For Week Ended Oct. 7

Passbook Savings 5.50 %

6-Month Savings Certificate N.A. %

10-Month Savings Certificate 7.49 %

Money Market Funds

Conservative 7-Day Average 8.79 %

Bank Money Market Accounts

Bank Rate Monthly Index 8.61 %

Home Mortgage

FHLB average 12.25 %

Source: Federal Reserve Board

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Closing Prices October 7, 1983

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This announcement appears as a matter of record only.

August 1983

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For the Week Ending October 7, 1983

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NEW YORK (AP)—Over the counter trading in the stock market was quiet today, with the Dow Jones Industrial Average ending at 2,814.10, down 1.10 points from its opening level of 2,815.20.

Sales in 100s High Low Last Chg

Symbol	100s	High	Low	Last	Chg
AMC	10	10.00	9.75	9.80	+0.05
AT&T	10	10.00	9.75	9.80	+0.05
IBM	10	10.00	9.75	9.80	+0.05
GE	10	10.00	9.75	9.80	+0.05
MSFT	10	10.00	9.75	9.80	+0.05

Explanation of Symbols

AMC: American Medical Corporation

AT&T: American Telephone & Telegraph Company

IBM: International Business Machines Corporation

GE: General Electric Company

MSFT: Microsoft Corporation

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BEST CURRENT YIELDS

Yields having a conversion period of less than 10%

Symbol	Yield
AMC	10.00%
AT&T	9.75%
IBM	9.80%
GE	9.75%
MSFT	9.80%

Explanation of Symbols

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FROM WEST AFRICA SECRETARY GENERAL

INTERNATIONAL INVITATION TO TENDER FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE INSTITUT SUPERIEUR DES SCIENCES ET TECHNIQUES HALIENQUES (I.S.S.T.H.)

A NOUADHOU, in the Islamic Republic of Mauritania

NOTICE OF PREQUALIFICATION

The Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEAO) invites tenders for the construction of the Institut Supérieur des Sciences et Techniques Halienques at Nouadhibou, by General Contract.

This construction will be the object of an Invitation to Tender addressed solely to the construction companies accepted by the Maître de l'Ouvrage after Prequalification, with the following object and conditions:

I. OBJECT

The Secretary General of the Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEAO) is inviting tenders for the prequalification of construction contractors to participate in an Invitation to Tender for the construction of the Institut Supérieur des Sciences et Techniques Halienques (I.S.S.T.H.) at Nouadhibou, comprising a Building of 7,000 m², a V.R.D. block and external installations.

II. FINANCING

The project is financed by B.I.D., O.P.E.P. and C.E.A.O.

III. ORIGIN OF BIDDERS

Firms (corporate bodies and individuals) or Groups of Firms from one of the member States of either C.E.A.O., B.I.D. or O.P.E.P. may submit an application.

IV. PARTICIPATION IN PREQUALIFICATION

Bidders must submit their application to the C.E.A.O. before 25th November 1983.

Bidders should include, with their tender, documents and references satisfying the necessary conditions.

V. DOSSIERS

The Bidders' dossiers must include all relevant information, i.e.: — a declaration stating the intention to tender and also giving the surname, Christian name, occupation, address and nationality of the tenderer;

— a certificate of nationality, in accordance with the existing regulations concerning this matter, in the country of the tenderer;

— technical references in the form of a report stating the location, dates, the nature and the scope of work carried out, or works for which the tenderer has been responsible, with information of work management;

— financial references in the form of a declaration from a bank as to the solvency of the tenderer.

VI. PROCEDURE FOR INVITATION TO TENDER

A letter of invitation to tender with the aforesaid conditions will be sent to the selected bidders.

This invitation will confirm the acceptance of the submission and show the conditions for the awarding of the tender file.

The C.E.A.O. will neither retract this acceptance nor justify its choice.

VII. DEFINITE REGISTRATION

The Bidders invited to tender, if they maintain their intention to participate, will have to confirm their participation in a registered letter addressed to the C.E.A.O., BP. 643, OUAGADOUGOU, Haute-Volta (Upper Volta) to comply with the stipulated conditions laid down in the organizer's letter of invitation.

Only the invited Bidders, having confirmed their intention to participate in the restricted invitation to tender will be considered as definitely registered to participate in the final invitation to tender.

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FORTUNE

TOYOTA PULLS AWAY FROM NISSAN

WHAT TO DO ABOUT AMERICA'S SCHOOLS

HOW TO BE A BETTER NEGOTIATOR

WILL GLAXO GIVE SMITHKLINE ULCERS?

We're four times as international as we were a year ago.

In the first half of 1983, we carried four times as many major stories on international business as a year before.

In addition to giving all our readers more basic worldwide coverage, we also gave readers in Europe, Asia, and Latin America additional stories that appeared only in our international edition.

These special stories were edited specifically for their interest to business executives outside the U.S. Each was written with the depth, authority, and thoughtfulness that have earned FORTUNE the respect of business leaders everywhere in the world.

It's this unique editorial coverage that makes FORTUNE INTERNATIONAL the only real international edition of

an American business magazine. No wonder it's been such a success, with a circulation rate base that started at 70,000 and jumps to 90,000 as of January 1, 1984.

You can reach these decision-makers, and all of FORTUNE's subscribers worldwide, with remarkable efficiency. For more information, call your FORTUNE representative.

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In **Lisbon**, Mrs. Luisa Lima, Tel: 573-589. In **Madrid**, Dr. Jose Cherez, Tel: 455-7643. In **Milano**, Aldo Ricci, Tel: 651404. In **Paris**, Paul Lefebvre, Tel: 763-1211. In **Stockholm**, Marianne Frick, Tel: (08) 21 95 85.

FORTUNE
Number one outside the U.S.

For the Week Ending October 7, 1983

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100	2101	2102	2103	2104	2105	2106	2107	2108	2109	2110	2111	2112	2113	2114	2115	2116	2117	2118	2119	2120	2121	2122	2123	2124	2125	2126	2127	2128	2129	2130	2131	2132	2133	2134	2135	2136	2137	2138	2139	2140	2141	2142	2143	2144	2145	2146	2147	2148	2149	2150	2151	2152	2153	2154	2155	2156	2157	2158	2159	2160	2161	2162	2163	2164	2165	2166	2167	2168	2169	2170	2171	2172	2173	2174	2175	2176	2177	2178	2179	2180	2181	2182	2183	2184	2185	2186	2187	2188	2189	2190	2191	2192	2193	2194	2195	2196	2197	2198	2199	2200	2201	2202	2203	2204	2205	2206	2207	2208	2209	2210	2211	2212	2213	2214	2215	2216	2217	2218	2219	2220	2221	2222	2223	2224	2225	2226	2227	2228	2229	2230	2231	2232	2233	2234	2235	2236	2237	2238	2239	2240	2241	2242	2243	2244	2245	2246	2247	2248	2249	2250	2251	2252	2253	2254	2255	2256	2257	2258	2259	2260	2261	2262	2263	2264	2265	2266	2267	2268	2269	2270	2271	2272	2273	2274	2275	2276	2277	2278	2279	2280	2281	2282	2283	2284	2285	2286	2287	2288	2289	2290	2291	2292	2293	2294	2295	2296	2297	2298	2299	2300	2301	2302	2303	2304	2305	2306	2307	2308	2309	2310	2311	2312	2313	2314	2315	2316	2317	2318	2319	2320	2321	2322	2323	2324	2325	2326	2327	2328	2329	2330	2331	2332	2333	2334	2335	2336	2337	2338	2339	2340	2341	2342	2343	2344	2345	2346	2347	2348	2349	2350	2351	2352	2353	2354	2355	2356	2357	2358	2359	2360	2361	2362	2363	2364	2365	2366	2367	2368	2369	2370	2371	2372	2373	2374	2375	2376	2377	2378	2379	2380	2381	2382	2383	2384	2385	2386	2387	2388	2389	2390	2391	2392	2393	2394	2395	2396	2397	2398	2399	2400	2401	2402	2403	2404	2405	2406	2407	2408	2409	2410	2411	2412	2413	2414	2415	2416	2417	2418	2419	2420	2421	2422	2423	2424	2425	2426	2427	2428	2429	2430	2431	2432	2433	2434	2435	2436	2437	2438	2439	2440	2441	2442	2443	2444	2445	2446	2447	2448	2449	2450	2451	2452	2453	2454	2455	2456	2457	2458	2459	2460	2461	2462	2463	2464	2465	2466	2467	2468	2469	2470	2471	2472	2473	2474	2475	2476	2477	2478	2479	2480	2481	2482	2483	2484	2485	2486	2487	2488	2489	2490	2491	2492	2493	2494	2495	2496	2497	2498	2499	2500	2501	2502	2503	2504	2505	2506	2507	2508	2509	2510	2511	2512	2513	2514	2515	2516	2517	2518	2519	2520	2521	2522	2523	2524	2525	2526	2527	2528	2529	2530	2531	2532	2533	2534	2535	2536	2537	2538	2539	2540	2541	2542	2543	2544	2545	2546	2547	2548	2549	2550	2551	2552	2553	2554	2555	2556	2557	2558	2559	2560	2561	2562	2563	2564	2565	2566	2567	2568	2569	2570	2571	2572	2573	2574	2575	2576	2577	2578	2579	2580	2581	2582	2583	2584	2585	2586	2587	2588	2589	2590	2591	2592	2593	2594	2595	2596	2597	2598	2599	2600	2601	2602	2603	2604	2605	2606	2607	2608	2609	2610	2611	2612	2613	2614	2615	2616	2617	2618	2619	2620	2621	2622	2623	2624	2625	2626	2627	2628	2629	2630	2631	2632	2633	2634	2635	2636	2637	2638	2639	2640	2641	2642	2643	2644	2645	2646	2647	2648	2649	2650	2651	2652	2653	2654	2655	2656	2657	2658	2659	2660	2661	2662	2663	2664	2665	2666	2667	2668	2669	2670	2671	2672	2673	2674	2675	2676	2677	2678	2679	2680	2681	2682	2683	2684	2685	2686	2687	2688	2689	2690	2691	2692	2693	2694	2695	2696	2697	2698	2699	2700	2701	2702	2703	2704	2705	2706	2707	2708	2709	2710	2711	2712	2713	2714	2715	2716	2717	2718	2719	2720	2721	2722	2723	2724	2725	2726	2727	2728	2729	2730	2731	2732	2733	2734	2735	2736	2737	2738	2739	2740	2741	2742	2743	2744	2745	2746	2747	2748	2749	2750	2751	2752	2753	2754	2755	2756	2757	2758	2759	2760	2761	2762	2763	2764	2765	2766	2767	2768	2769	2770	2771	2772	2773	2774	2775	2776	2777	2778	2779	2780	2781	2782	2783	2784	2785	2786	2787	2788	2789	2790	2791	2792	2793	2794	2795	2796	2797	2798	2799	2800	2801	2802	2803	2804	2805	2806	2807	2808	2809	2810	2811	2812	2813	2814	2815	2816	2817	2818	2819	2820	2821	2822	2823	2824	2825	2826	2827	2828	2829	2830	2831	2832	2833	2834	2835	2836	2837	2838	2839	2840	2841	2842	2843	2844	2845	2846	2847	2848	2849	2850	2851	2852	2853	2854	2855	2856	2857	2858	2859	2860	2861	2862	2863	2864	2865	2866	2867	2868	2869	2870	2871	2872	2873	2874	2875	2876	2877	2878	2879	2880	2881	2882	2883	2884	2885	2886	2887	2888	2889	2890	2891	2892	2893	2894	2895	2896	2897	2898	2899	2900	2901	2902	2903	2904	2905	2906	2907	2908	2909	2910	2911	2912	2913	2914	2915	2916	2917	2918	2919	2920	2921	2922	2923	2924	2925	2926	2927	2928	2929	2930	2931	2932	2933	2934	2935	2936	2937	2938	2939	2940	2941	2942	2943	2944	2945	2946	2947	2948	2949	2950	2951	2952	2953	2954	2955	2956	2957	2958	2959	2960	2961	2962	2963	2964	2965	2966	2967	2968	2969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letter to the president trying public debate of key issues. At first they were sent into internal exile in remote parts of this large and tribally diverse country. Then they were sentenced to 25-year prison terms. In May, when Mr. Mobutu ordered yet another amnesty for political prisoners and coincidentally elevated himself to the rank of marshal, they were freed.

At that point, they organized themselves as the Democratic Union for Social Progress. Their manifesto and ball-point pens with their slogans have circulated widely here, though they themselves are hard to find. They received their greatest international exposure five weeks ago when they and a number of supporters were beaten up by government gunmen in front of the hotel where they had met with a delegation of U.S. congressmen to the House subcommittee on Africa.

The former parliamentarians went to the meeting wearing Western-style suits and ties as a protest against the government, and according to some of the president's

suppliers, it was this rather than the meeting that provoked the placidophemen to attack them. Such garb is illegal for Zairian men who under presidential edicts must wear waistless outfits designed by Mr. Mobutu himself.

The restrictions on apparel are one of the few remaining aspects of the monument-building and economic nationalism that the president instigated when the price of copper was high and the country had credit.

Now the credit has dried up and the debts mount, while the monuments and other public structures are withering. The memorial to the martyrs of independence, the mine and the high court, structures begun a decade ago, lie unfinished.

The country has a debt of \$3 billion, 90 percent of which is owed to Western governments. The IMF's rescue formula provides \$350 million in foreign aid, supports in exchange for a series of changes that Zaire in the past rejected as curbing its sovereignty.

Fiscal controls and accounting measures have been introduced. Lost livestock have been found.

Banking and business restrictions have been liberalized to bypass the government and, in theory, curb rampant corruption. And the money, the zaire, has been devalued to 20 percent of its earlier value in an effort to drive out the parallel market.

In essence, the commercial banks are now competing the value of the zaire in the same way as the black marketers did, and the new rate, about 30 to the dollar, is the same as the old black-market rate, which was readily available through the official, and mostly unworkable, rate of six zaires to the dollar.

Under the old system, certain privileged cities, often with political influence, were able to amass fortunes by converting cheap zaires to the official, expensive zaires and then to foreign currency. Now that has stopped and business leaders here are clearly apprehensive about what will happen next. One banker suggested that the attempt to drive out the parallel market may fail if the government is powerless to stop the smuggling of coffee, diamonds, copper and cobalt, which skims

foreign exchange from national revenues.

At the moment, no one here is really certain what the economic program will bring. In the part of the city inhabited by foreigners and wealthy Zairians, the biggest change so far is that people have to walk around with satchels to hold their money.

But in the so-called City of Natives, where three million people live on dusty paths, the devaluation has brought harsh changes. The price of manioc, a staple here, has risen by 150 percent in the last two weeks, reflecting the fourfold increase in the price of gasoline needed to truck the cassava roots into town.

Salaries of government workers are scheduled to rise by 40 percent in the next two months, but already many people are suffering. Mwanda Mboko, a waiter, earns 750 zaires a month. His rent is 250 zaires, transportation to work costs 120 zaires and a 110-gram (50-gram) bag of manioc to feed his wife and two children twice a day now costs 500 zaires, for a monthly total of 870 zaires. "Even without" having a sin-

(Continued from Page 7)

porting the new Portuguese government. In addition, a companion \$150-million bankers' acceptance facility for the government enhances the appeal of the loan. The timing of the loan coincides with the IMF's approval Friday of a financial aid package for Portugal of 703 million special drawing rights.

The syndicated credit will run for seven years and interest will be set at 3/4 percent over Libor or 3/4 percent over the prime rate. Up to 60 percent of the loan can be priced over the prime rate. Portugal will also pay a front-end fee of 1/2 percent and a commitment fee on the two-year bankers' acceptance facility is tied to participation in the credits. Banks will be paid a commission of 55 basis points (100 such points equal 1 percentage point). Acceptances usually are shorter term with commissions running up to only 40 basis points. Normally, each bank's acceptance rate is the one applied to its share of the transaction. But in this case, the average rate of all

carry a margin of ½ point over the three-month interbank rate for dollars quoted in Bahrain.

At final maturity, when only half the principal amount will still be outstanding, lenders will have the option to extend the remaining \$150 million for a further three years.

The margin would then rise to 1½ point over the interbank rate.

Lenders will earn a commitment fee of ½ percent for the first three months of the loan and ½ percent thereafter. Front-end commissions will range from ½ percent (for banks taking \$1 million) to 1 percent (for an underwriting of \$7.5 million).

Hidroelectrica de Catnima is seeking an eight-year loan of 500 million European currency units. Interest will be set at ½ point over the three- or six-month ECU interbank rate for the first four years and then 1½ point over Banks will earn a commission of ½ percent on their underwriting and ¾ percent on their final take.

At the same time Fimosa is arranging a seven-year loan of £200

a £500-million loan has demonstrated the viability of sterling-denominated syndicated loans, they say there is a dearth of issuers as most sovereign borrowers make an annual plan for their foreign borrowing needs and most of these programs for 1983 are already completed and the 1984 targets have not been set.

However, with the French fraying against its partner currencies in the European monetary system, bankers predict that the French will need to bolster their reserves and are thus considered a likely candidate for the sterling market.

In the Far East, bankers say cover runs on the first phase of the OK Tedi gold and copper project in Papua New Guinea and prefinancing for the start of stage two will result in OK Tedi coming to market for \$150 million.

Despite the gloom in Hong Kong about the colony's future, one of the largest syndicated loans ever put together has been arranged for Mass Transit Railway. An eight-

a meal with a visitor he had not seen for five years, summed up the decline. "You know, man, this country died."

Stock Exchange Closing in Israel For Reform Talks

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TEL AVIV — The Tel Aviv stock exchange has announced that it would close Sunday, a normal business day in Israel, because of efforts by the government and banks to work out a monetary reform agreement.

Bankers and finance ministry officials have been discussing possible reforms following heavy sales of bank shares. The public has been selling the shares and converting the proceeds into dollars because of the widespread expectations of a devaluation of the Israeli currency, the shekel.

Until recently, bank stocks have been the public's safest hedge

Treasury officials predicted that

under the new system the banks would no longer be able to use large amounts of money to prop up the price of their stocks. In return, the government would underwrite the value of the stocks in dollars or against the cost-of-living index if the investor holds them for at least five years, they said.

(Continued From Back Page)

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COUNTRY	1 year	6 months	3 months
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Austria.....	A.Sch.	3,050	1,525	840
Belgium.....	B.Fr.	6,600	3,300	1,815
Denmark.....	D.Kr.	1,400	700	400
Finland.....	F.M.	1,080	540	300

France	F.F.	900	450	250
Germany	D.M.	400	200	110
Great Britain	£	72	36	20
Greece	Dr.	10,800	5,400	2,950
Ireland	£sd	80	45	25

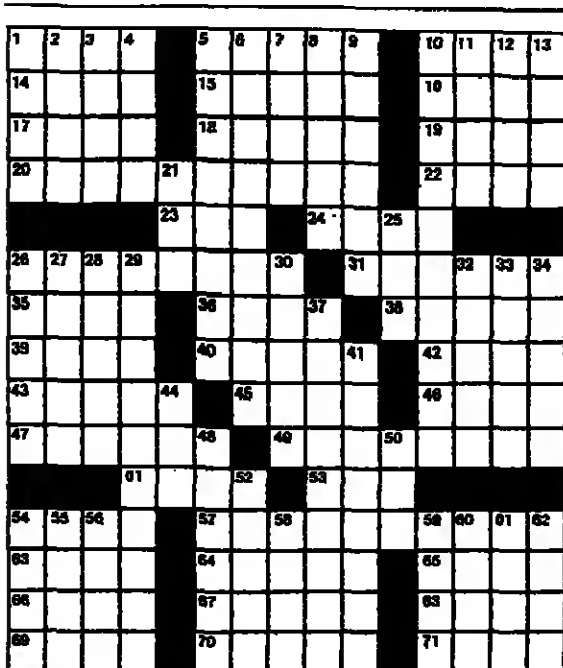
Italy.....	Live	195,000	97,500	53,700
Luxembourg.....	L.Fr.	6,600	3,300	1,815
Netherlands.....	Fl.	430	225	124
Norway.....	N.Kr.	1,160	580	320
Sweden.....	S.	10,000	5,000	2,700

Portugal.....	Est.	10,000	5,000	2,750
Spain.....	Pas.	16,260	8,130	4,480
Sweden.....	S.Kr.	1,160	580	320
Switzerland.....	S.Fr.	356	178	98
Rest of Europe, North Africa, former				

French Africa, U.S.A., French Polynesia, Middle East.....	\$	280	140	77
Rest of Africa, Canada, Latin America, Gulf States, Asia.....	\$	390	195	107

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CROSSWORD



- ACROSS**
- 1 Went down a chute
 - 3 Piles
 - 5 Soviet river
 - 14 Leaf
 - 15 Actress
 - 16 Wine valley
 - 17 Andy's partner
 - 18 Tux and gallop
 - 19 Scott, of court decision
 - 20 Easter purchase
 - 22 Let up
 - 23 High-pitched, in music
 - 24 Prophet
 - 25 7:30 P.M. on B'way
 - 31 Mongolians
 - 32 Corn confection
 - 33 Coming up
 - 34 Pleasurable event
 - 35 Mineral deposits
 - 40 Cheesecake
 - 41 Beaver
 - 42 Yen
 - 43 Carries on
 - 45 Govt. workers
 - 46 Manner
 - 47 Most mature
 - 48 Garden tools
- DOWN**
- 1 Health clubs
 - 2 Device for Aladdin
 - 3 Prince in an opera
 - 4 Son of Arnez
 - 5 This goes on at some bezzars
 - 6 Action on Capitol Hill
 - 7 Workdays
 - 8 Agave plants
 - 9 Six-line stanza
 - 10 Bridge
 - 11 — avia
 - 12 Simians
 - 13 Put on cargo
 - 21 — King Cole
 - 25 "I earn that I"
 - 26 Seed
 - 27 Of a time
 - 28 Upright
 - 29 Certain winds
 - 30 Finals, e.g.
 - 31 Hilltop home
 - 32 One in a fury
 - 34 British guns
 - 37 Vegas challenge
 - 41 Thined
 - 44 Remo-L.A. dir.
 - 45 Enlarge
 - 46 Done in
 - 47 "East of Eden" character
 - 53 Buckle handle
 - 54 Singer
 - 55 Fitzgerald
 - 56 Romanian city
 - 58 Cold and wet
 - 60 Clarinet's cousin
 - 61 Telegram
 - 62 One of the tides

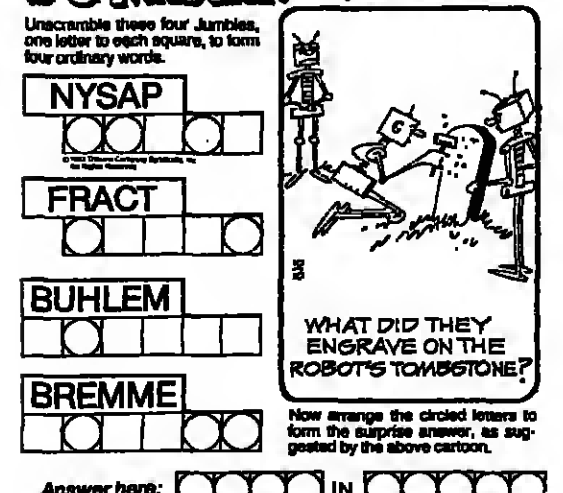
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DENNIS THE MENACE



"THEY RECYCLE ALL THE JUNK AND IT TURNS INTO MAIL."

JUMBLE



Answer here: _____ IN _____

Friday's Jumble: TONIC STOOP POISON COUSIN

Answer: Everything you should know about entrances and exits—THE INS & OUTS

WEATHER

EUROPE	HIGH	LOW	ASIA	HIGH	LOW
Algeria	62	48	Beijing	62	48
Athens	62	48	Bombay	62	48
Berlin	62	48	Buenos Aires	62	48
Bombay	62	48	Calcutta	62	48
Buenos Aires	62	48	Cairo	62	48
Calcutta	62	48	Chongqing	62	48
Cairo	62	48	Columbo	62	48
Chongqing	62	48	Dacca	62	48
Columbo	62	48	Dhaka	62	48
Dacca	62	48	Hankow	62	48
Dhaka	62	48	Hong Kong	62	48
Hankow	62	48	Kobe	62	48
Hong Kong	62	48	London	62	48
Kobe	62	48	Manila	62	48
London	62	48	Medan	62	48
Manila	62	48	Osaka	62	48
Medan	62	48	Perth	62	48
Osaka	62	48	Rangoon	62	48
Perth	62	48	Seoul	62	48
Rangoon	62	48	Singapore	62	48
Seoul	62	48	Taipei	62	48
Singapore	62	48	Tokyo	62	48
Taipei	62	48	Yokohama	62	48
Tokyo	62	48			
Yokohama	62	48			

MONDAY'S FORECAST—CHICAGO: Heavy, FRANKFURT: Overcast and fog, Temp. 12-18 (41-62). LONDON: Partly cloudy, Temp. 10-15 (50-59). PARIS: Partly cloudy, Temp. 10-15 (50-59). NEW YORK: Partly cloudy, Temp. 10-15 (50-59). WASHINGTON: Partly cloudy, Temp. 10-15 (50-59). PHOENIX: Partly cloudy, Temp. 10-15 (50-59). PORTLAND: Partly cloudy, Temp. 10-15 (50-59). SAN FRANCISCO: Partly cloudy, Temp. 10-15 (50-59). SEATTLE: Partly cloudy, Temp. 10-15 (50-59). SINGAPORE: Partly cloudy, Temp. 10-15 (50-59). SYDNEY: Partly cloudy, Temp. 10-15 (50-59). TOKYO: Partly cloudy, Temp. 10-15 (50-59). YOKOHAMA: Partly cloudy, Temp. 10-15 (50-59).

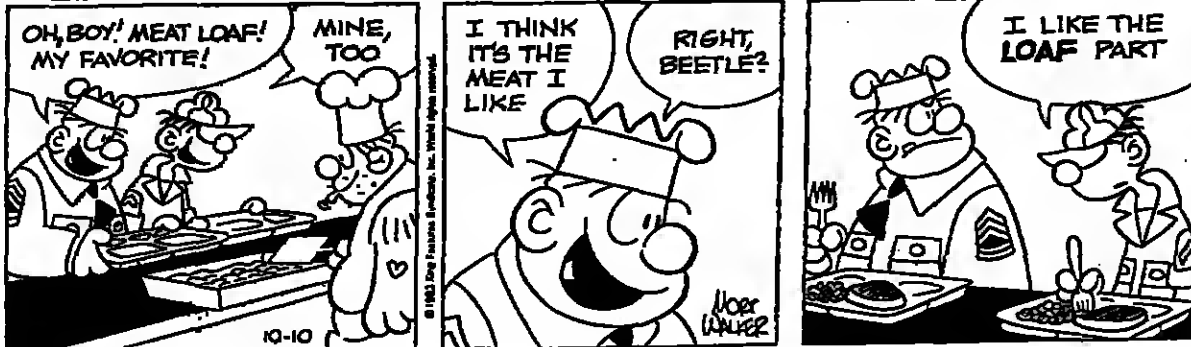
PEANUTS



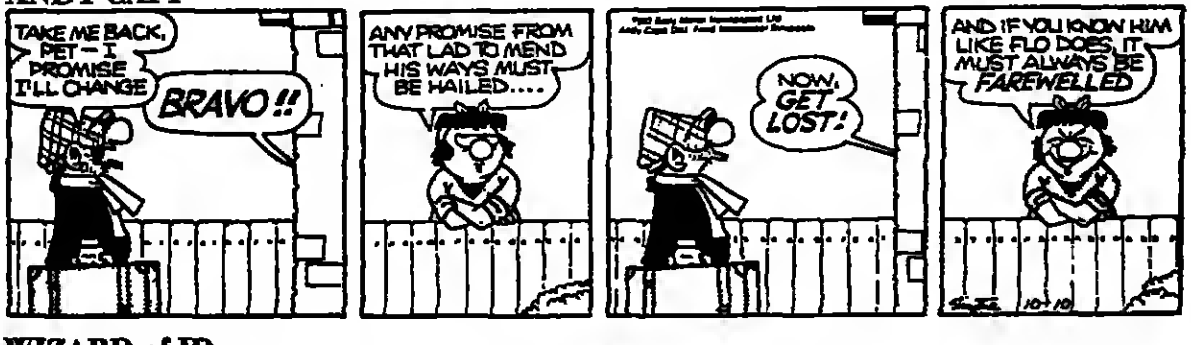
BLONDIE



BEETLE BAILEY



ANDY CAPP



WIZARD OF ID



REX MORGAN



GARFIELD



NHL Standings

Team	W	L	T	P	GF	GA
NY Rangers	10	4	1	0	45	34
Philadelphia	9	5	1	0	40	38
NY Islanders	8	6	1	0	38	35
New Jersey	7	7	1	0	35	38
Washington	7	7	1	0	35	38
Pittsburgh	6	8	1	0	32	41

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

Team	W	L	T	P	GF	GA
St. Louis	10	0	0	0	42	8
Colorado	9	0	0	0	37	7
Texas	8	0	0	0	32	13
Minnesota	7	0	0	0	32	13
Detroit	6	0	0	0	32	13

Texas Rallies in 3d Period to Defeat Oklahoma

DALLAS — Texas scored three touchdowns in 7 minutes 7 seconds of the third quarter Saturday and defeated Oklahoma, 28-16.

The Longhorns, ranked second nationally in both wire-service

Texas Rallies in 3d Period to Defeat Oklahoma

they led 28-10 after touchdowns runs of 2 yards by the fullback Ronnie Robinson, 2 yards by the fullback Ervin Davis and 67 yards by Edwin Simmons, a freshman tailback. Simmons also scored on an 8-yard run in the second period that had tied the score, 7-7.

The Longhorns defense made the lead hold up. Interpreted a pass at the Oklahoma 20 and, in the fourth quarter, prevented the Sooners from succeeding on a two-point conversion after Oklahoma's quarterback, Danny Bradley, ran 37 yards for a touchdown with 10:02 remaining. The Sooners' 16 points were the most allowed by Texas this season.

Penn State 34, Alabama 28. In State College, Pennsylvania, Penn State knocked Alabama from the unbeaten ranks with a 34-28 victory.

Penn State, last year's national champions, lost its first three games this season and was an eight-point underdog against Alabama. Bear Bryant's successor at Alabama, Ray Perkins, suffered his first loss as a college head coach despite a fourth-quarter comeback. The Crimson Tide fell 2 yards short on the final play of the game.

In reports over other games from United Press International:

Nebraska 14, Oklahoma State 10. In Stillwater, Oklahoma, top-ranked Nebraska overcame five turnovers to score a 14-10 Big Eight victory over Oklahoma State. Nebraska's Turner Gill threw touchdown passes of 62 and 32 yards to spoil a strong defensive effort by Oklahoma State.

North Carolina 30, Wake Forest 10. In Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Ethan Horton and Eddie Colson scored two touchdowns each to lift North Carolina over Wake Forest, 30-10. The Tar Heels, 6-0, set a school record with three runners rushing for more than 100 yards.

Florida 29, Vanderbilt 10. In Gainesville, Florida, John L. Williams scored three touchdowns, two on passes from Wayne Peace, to lead Florida over Vanderbilt, 29-10. Williams, who rushed for 103 yards on 17 carries, scored on passes of 6 and 3 yards and raced 32 yards for the final Georgia score.

Georgia 36, Mississippi 11. In Oxford, Mississippi, Keith Montgomery scored two touchdowns in the first half and fullback Barry Young raced 54 yards for another score to lead Georgia to a Southeastern Conference victory over Mississippi, 36-11.

Auburn 49, Kentucky 21. In Lexington, Kentucky, Bo Jackson scored three touchdowns to help Auburn stop previously undefeated Kentucky, 49-21.

Ohio State 33, Purdue 22. In Columbus, Ohio, Garcia Lane returned punts 63 and 71 yards for touchdowns and fullback Keith Byars rushed for 137 yards and three scores to lead Ohio State to 33-22. Big Ten triumph over Purdue.

Michigan 42, Michigan State 6. In East Lansing, Michigan, Steve Smith threw for one touchdown and ran for another in helping the Michigan coach, Bo Schembechler, to his 100th Big Ten victory in defeating Michigan State, 42-6. Evan Cooper set up two second-quarter touchdowns with punt returns to help Michigan take a 25-0 halftime lead.

Illinois 27, Wisconsin 15. In Madison, Wisconsin, Thomas Rooks ran for two touchdowns and Jack Truett and Mitchell Brooks connected on a 72-yard scoring pass to help Illinois remain undefeated in the Big Ten with a 27-15 triumph over Wisconsin.

Notre Dame 30, South Carolina 6. In Columbia, South Carolina, freshman Steve Benerdie threw touchdown passes of 26 and 33 yards and Mike Johnston kicked three field goals to lead Notre Dame to a 30-6 victory over South Carolina. A capacity crowd of 72,500 braved a persistent drizzle to watch Notre Dame roll to 23-point lead in the first half.

Miami 42, Louisville 14. In Miami, Albert Bentley rushed for 152 yards and two touchdowns and safety Kenny Calhoun scored

BOOKS

HOOPLA
By Harry Stein. 366 pp. \$14.95.
Knopf, 201 East 50th St., New York, N.Y. 10022.

Reviewed by Jonathan Yardley

THE "Black Sox" Scandal of 1919, in which eight members of the heavily favored Chicago White Sox conspired to throw the World Series to the Cincinnati Reds, was an event that far transcended the limited horizons of the world of sport. World War I, which had ended a year before, had mocked American innocence in an orgy of meaningless bloodshed and agony; now the Black Sox scandal compounded the nation's brutal introduction to life's realities by showing that baseball, a game generally regarded as uniquely American and thus uniquely virtuous, was as susceptible to manipulation and chicanery as any of society's supposedly less scrupulous institutions.

Not surprisingly, the scandal has preoccupied over the years a considerable body of legend and literature. From the myth of Shoeless Joe Jackson ("He ain't no Joe") to F. Scott Fitzgerald's mordant immortalization of the gambler who "could start to play with the faith of 50 million people," the scandal has inspired more events of seemingly greater magnitude. But it has never inspired a work of serious fiction — scenes and vignettes and references, yes, but never an entire novel.

Until now, that is, Harry Stein, who writes an interesting column about ethical questions for Esquire magazine, has attempted to fill the void in this first novel. To the extent that he raises some pertinent themes and makes some provocative comments, he has succeeded. But as a work of fiction, "Hoopla" suffers from debilitating weaknesses, the most serious of which is an utter lack of anything resembling a center; it is offered as a novel about the Black Sox Scandal, but from the way it wanders this way and that, it hardly seems a novel about anything at all.

It has two narrators. The first, and the most interesting, is a New York journalist named Luther Pond, an entirely fictional character; he is an old man as he writes this memoir of his early newspapering days. The second is Back Weaver, who played third base for the Black Sox and was one of the eight men eventually barred from organized baseball for his role in the scandal; he is a historical figure to whom Stein, following current fashion, has chosen to give a new life as a character in a work of fiction.

Pond's narrative is the more appealing, notwithstanding his cynicism and self-aggrandizement, because he writes in an amusing prose style and has a knowing eye for the shortcomings of ballplayers and the sporting crowd. His judgment is that baseball players, "though often ignorant, occasionally illiterate and invariably less interesting than anyone else one deals with in the course of life, tended toward bloodied self-esteem." But his attempts to instill this view into his narrative are strongly resisted by his editors; when one tells him that "we happen not to be in the business of hero reduction in this paper," he speaks to one of Stein's central themes — that the Black Sox Scandal was the beginning of the end for the blind hero-worship in which athletes then basked.

As for Weaver's narrative, it suffers from serious drawbacks. The first is that although Weaver is represented as having written his sections of the book, they have the sound and rhythm of speech, the second, and the more serious, is that Stein places too heavy a narrative responsibility on someone he did not invent; that Back Weaver was a real person is a truth from which the reader never manages to escape, and the knowledge of this is an annoying constant. It is never more so than when Weaver, without obvious editorial assistance, writes of his own life in St. Louis, since Weaver apparently has no direct descendants; there is no one around to object to this except the reader who feels it is one thing for Stein to put a historical figure in a work of fiction and another for him to play fast and loose with that figure's private life.

Be that as it may, Stein's "Weaver" addresses important points when he complains about the exploitation of ballplayers by the moguls of the game; as is by now generally accepted, a principal reason why the scandal occurred was that all but a few White Sox players were deeply indebted, with simple reason, at the ways they had been cheated by the team's owner, Charles Comiskey, and this question Stein handles with considerable skill. As expressed by Weaver, his reader's best accurate point is that "the national game is a business, like shipping or something like that, and the moguls do what they please."

If Stein had stuck to this point and to the particulars of the Black Sox Scandal, he might have pulled off the mixture of fiction and fact that "Hoopla" aspires to be. But more than 250 pages have passed before 1919 is reached, and precious few of those pages are pertinent to anything except a rambling digression on hero-worship and the relationship between hero-athletes and the journalists who can make or break them. "Hoopla" goes off in so many directions that in the end it goes nowhere. This is a pity, because Stein is a decent writer and has interesting things to say.

Jonathan Yardley is on the staff of The Washington Post.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

CONSIDER the diagrammed deal, from a duplicate game. It proved to have analytical wheels within wheels. A simple auction led to three no-trump, and West led the spade ten.

The question to consider is: Would you rather play or defend?

At many tables the ten was covered with the jack, king and ace. South established diamonds, and after holding up his ace as long as possible, West continued spades. The declarer took the spade queen, cashed the two remaining diamond winners and played hearts to make his contract. All the defense could score was two spade tricks and two red aces.

The first point noted by the analysts was that East made an

error in playing his spade king in the first trick. If he played the jack, South's entry to dummy disappears prematurely, to lead Florida over Vanderbilt, 29-10. Williams, who rushed for 103 yards on 17 carries, scored on passes of 6 and 3 yards and raced 32 yards for the final Georgia score.

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win and play defense, forcing the away back to punt, and East, game and play, another club. South can reach dummy to score his established diamonds, but will never collect a heart trick. West will be waiting at the finish with two club tricks and the heart ace.

It was then suggested that South made an error in playing an honor from dummy at the first trick. If he plays low from dummy and wins with the ace, he will have a sure entry to dummy in the long run. The conclusion was drawn that South can make his game if he plays carefully.

Further thought shows that this is not true, and that the best defense will always defeat contract. If South takes the spade ace and plays diamonds, he holds up and must third round. Instead of continuing spades, however, he shifts to a club, a key play.

South cannot do better than

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LANGUAGE

To Split or Not to Split?

By William Safire
WASHINGTON — When teen-age infinitives get into their pants, they will say to each other: "Let's split." Their stodgy parents, suddenly afflicted with a splitting Jordache, ask themselves: "Why do so many infinitives split these days?"

For centuries, writers have been warned to avoid splitting infinitives. To split *gloriously* is preferred; to *gloriously split* is frowned upon. For some reason, the insertion of an adverb between the *to* and the rest of the verb in its infinitive form causes most arbiters of newspaper style to say sternly: "It is to laugh heartily," and over: "It is to heartily laugh."

For example, when Charles M. Lichtenstein, the deputy chief of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, felt provoked by Soviet snubs on American hospitality, he said: "The United States strongly encourages member states seriously to consider removing themselves and this organization from the soil of the United States." He went on to say: "We will be at bedside bidding you a farewell as you set off into the sunset."

An alert Wall Street Journal editorialist quickly pointed out the telegraphic "difficulty" of sailing into the sunset from New York harbor. "The United Nations' location on the East Coast permits sailing into sunrises only."

However, a transcript of the United Nations talk shows Lichtenstein to have been strictly to the grammarian's delight in the use of the infinitive: "Seriously to consider" shows that the statement was composed with great care. Most people would have said "to seriously consider."

"In general," generalizes the Associated Press, "avoid awkward constructions that split infinitive forms of a verb. . . . Awkward: She was ordered to leave immediately on an assignment. Preferred: She was ordered to leave immediately on an assignment."

But that's not the problem at all: Most of the time, the split infinitive looks natural and the unsplit form looks pedantic. To *seriously object* is certainly as natural to the tongue and eye as to *object strenuously*, and both are less awkward than *strenuously to object*.

The real problem is this: If oi-

ther way is awkward, is it right and proper to split the infinitive? Who has attached a stigma to the placement of the modifier in the middle?

Not the great grammarians. George O. Curme, the superstar of grammar two generations ago, wrote: "Since the 14th century . . . the split infinitive, by virtue of its decided advantages, which have been gradually gaining ground. . . . Although this new drift has long been regarded by many who do not understand it as plebeian or vulgar, there have never been any real grounds for such an attitude, for it has never been characteristic of popular speech." He cites Abraham Lincoln's plea to border states for compensated emancipation: "How much better to thus save the money which else we sink forever in the war?" That is more graceful than *thus to save or to save thusly*.

Henry Fowler agreed. "A real s.l., though not desirable in itself, is preferable to . . . real ambiguity and to patent artificiality." He chose the infinitive-splitting *to better equip*, rejecting *to equip better* as "ambiguous (better an adjective?)" and *better to equip* as "a shouted reminder of the tyranny of artificiality in the pedant."

If you want to emphasize a point, splitting an infinitive is a good way to do it. In light of all this, I recommend that infinitive splitters of the world unite. We have nothing to lose but our hang-ups. If we want to touch lightly on a topic, we should preserve the integrity of the infinitive form; if we want to viciously savage it, we are free to split the infinitive to smithereens. No stigma attaches to the splitting, nor did it ever in the minds of many of the most prestigious usurers. Let us put the modifier in the place — before the *to*, just after it, or after the verb — where it works best.

If you are not satisfied with the Voice of Final Authority booming in this space, listen to George Bernard Shaw, creator of "erry lggins": "Every good literary craftsman splits his infinitives when the sense demands it." He called for the immediate dismissal of the pedant hired to chase split infinitives and concluded: "It is of no consequence whether he decides to go quickly or to quickly go."

New York Times Service

Ah, Sweet Mysteries of Song

There's a Lot More to Vocal Terminology Than You Suspect

By Donald Henahan

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — What's an "A-flat tenor"? It's a male creature with an upper voice constricted in range and quality, just as you might guess even without looking up the term in Cornelius L. Reid's "A Dictionary of Vocal Terminology." But is an "A-flat tenor" different from a "neotenic tenor," and if so, how? What does it mean to say that a singer is "chewing bread" or "drinking in the tone"? What is the difference between a tone with "ping" and one with "ring"?

I have been enjoying myself recently by reading Reid's discussions of such questions in his new dictionary, a 478-page volume published by Loeb Classical Library. The book is priced at \$39.95. Perhaps the book's chief value, aside from any pleasure or enlightenment it may provide to ordinary music listeners, lies in its attempt to bring order to the terminology confusion that besets the vocal profession. Listening to singers and their teachers try to explain their theories you realize what the construction workers on the Tower of Babel must have been up against. The words, having no commonly accepted meanings, become a jumble of sense and nonsense. Teachers often use the same words to mean opposite things: Reid lists that the phrase "too far back" actually refers to a tone that is produced too far forward, because of a constriction high in the pharyngeal tract. In this, as in many similar instances, what a singer or teacher may be feeling and trying to describe may quite differ from what is taking place physiologically.

Much of the acrimonious debate that has raged among vocal teachers, especially in this century, can be explained by their reliance on just such loose talk. "A Dictionary of Vocal Terminology" is an attempt to impose some standards on this messy situation, calling as much as possible on scientifically ascertainable evidence but also attempting to promote agreement on certain commonly used terms such as "purity of intonation" and "wob-

ble." Reid, who has written several books on voice training, is a practical man who can content himself with a curt definition when a longer one would belabor the obvious ("In Voice: being in good vocal form"). But when the subject is one that singers, singing teachers and even informed laymen may disagree about, he is happy to pile on the facts and to marshal them in support of his own pedagogical theories. He gives 11 pages to "Breathing," for instance, eight to "Falsetto" and five to "Lowered Larynx."

One discussion in depth concerns the ancient question of voice registers, which under various categories and subcategories, theorists have not even been able to agree on the basic question of how many registers there are. A minority has contended that there is only one register, that the ideally trained voice has no natural separations. But most opinion is divided between two-register (chest and head) and three-register (lower, middle, upper) theories. Reid favors the two-register theory, which formed the basis of most training methods before the invention of the laryngoscope in 1854. He inclines toward the view that much of the study of voices by laryngoscope has been scientifically invalid. He favors calling the two registers the "chest" and the "falsetto," a terminology that prevailed through much of vocal history and that Reid justifies by citing modern evidence that I do not intend to go into here because

it would bring me nothing but piles of contentious letters from singing teachers.

Much of the physiological analysis in Reid's entries is technical, of course, and will interest only his fellow theorists. Probably not many singers could, if put to the test, tell you where their posterior cricoid cartilage is located, let alone say what purpose it serves. However, this is a reference book that anyone interested in singing can dip into with profit. Do you want to know the difference between "heroic tenor" and "dramatic tenor"? (For one thing, the heroic tenor's natural tessitura or most comfortable average range is slightly lower than that of the dramatic tenor.) Should a soprano be pleased or insulted if you say her tone is "sweet"? How about "mellow"? (Both are derogatory words in Reid's vocabulary.) Does the "passaggio" or "break" occur in about the same place for both male and female voices? (Yes.) What is the difference between the vocal organs of men and women? (No difference except size, according to those who have measured excised larynxes.)

What is meant by "placement," "marking," "covering" and "belting"? What, exactly, are "flattening," "focusing" or "dark tones"? Do you know what the "tag reflex" is and what function it may play in vocal training? (Touching the tongue with a finger releases throat tension and can be locally useful, though probably not during performance.)

Among many authoritative-sounding but highly suspect terms tossed about in discussions of singing are "head resonance," "chest resonance," "mouth resonance" and "nasal resonance." This is another instance where subjective impressions parade as facts. Reid says research has proved that virtually all voice resonance takes place in the throat, or more specifically in the trachea, larynx and pharynx. The tone only seems, in some deplorable cases, to be coming from a sinus, left nostril or unfilled wisdom tooth.

Considering the confused history of vocal teaching and the fact that the field has always been

heavily populated with charlatans and incompetents, as well as a few genuine artists who rely on pure intuition to guide their students, it is safe to predict that Reid's dictionary will stir up antipathy. I myself am particularly disturbed to be told that head resonance plays no part in tone production since I have long believed unquestioningly in the old saying that a tenor's resonance takes place in the space where his brains should be.

I also expect that some singers, probably not tenors, will be annoyed at Reid's discussion of the brain's function in singing. He contends that sound-making instincts and what he calls the "singing sense" are centered in the cerebellum or "small brain." For that reason, the singer who relies too much on the cerebrum or larger brain is hard to teach: "It is a notorious fact that the 'intelligent' singer rarely sings either well or naturally." Because of the perverse sort of universe we live in, small-brain singers and their teachers probably will not bother to consult this book. There will still be a lot of talk about "projecting the tone through the top of the head," "placing it against the front teeth" or "feeling the vowel between the eyes." But Reid has provided a context in which even such possibly useful, possibly destructive free-form ideas can be talked about systematically and sensibly. In his dispassionate field, that is an achievement.

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Among many authoritative-sounding but highly suspect terms tossed about in discussions of singing are "head resonance," "chest resonance," "mouth resonance" and "nasal resonance." This is another instance where subjective impressions parade as facts. Reid says research has proved that virtually all voice resonance takes place in the throat, or more specifically in the trachea, larynx and pharynx. The tone only seems, in some deplorable cases, to be coming from a sinus, left nostril or unfilled wisdom tooth.

Considering the confused history of vocal teaching and the fact that the field has always been

heavily populated with charlatans and incompetents, as well as a few genuine artists who rely on pure intuition to guide their students, it is safe to predict that Reid's dictionary will stir up antipathy. I myself am particularly disturbed to be told that head resonance plays no part in tone production since I have long believed unquestioningly in the old saying that a tenor's resonance takes place in the space where his brains should be.

I also expect that some singers, probably not tenors, will be annoyed at Reid's discussion of the brain's function in singing. He contends that sound-making instincts and what he calls the "singing sense" are centered in the cerebellum or "small brain." For that reason, the singer who relies too much on the cerebrum or larger brain is hard to teach: "It is a notorious fact that the 'intelligent' singer rarely sings either well or naturally." Because of the perverse sort of universe we live in, small-brain singers and their teachers probably will not bother to consult this book. There will still be a lot of talk about "projecting the tone through the top of the head," "placing it against the front teeth" or "feeling the vowel between the eyes." But Reid has provided a context in which even such possibly useful, possibly destructive free-form ideas can be talked about systematically and sensibly. In his dispassionate field, that is an achievement.



The vocal equipment of tenor Luciano Pavarotti.

JERUSALEM POSTCARD

Historic Shopping Mall

By Jonathan Immanuel
The Associated Press

JERUSALEM — Five years ago, Jerusalem's ancient main street was no more than a black strip on an obscure map and a glimmer in the eye of a determined archaeologist. Today it is Jerusalem's smartest shopping mall.

The Roman-Byzantine street, 1,400 years old, presents the visitor with a striking combination of old and new. Ancient columns and remnants of arches blend with sparkling boutiques selling art, books and high fashion.

The reclaimed 200-yard stretch of street is the showpiece of reconstruction work on Aelia Capitolina, the Roman city built on the ruins of Jerusalem's Jewish Quarter, which Emperor Hadrian razed in A.D. 135.

Archaeologists and architects have remodeled the road, called the Cardo Maximus in Latin, using remnants of walls, arches, pillars and stones recovered from a six-foot-deep accumulation of debris.

Smart, modern shops have been built in the alleys from which Byzantine merchants sold their wares 14 centuries ago. On the stamps of ancient pillars, a roof of cross-vaulted arches has been built in the style of the Christian Byzantine architecture which replaced the Roman fashion.

"It makes me feel like I'm back in time. It's not like a shopping mall at all. It's like a museum come to life," says Hava Mandell, 21, a Canadian Jewish immigrant who works in a fashion boutique on the Cardo.

The Cardo built by Hadrian was much longer, but most of it is buried and cannot be uncovered without endangering the warren of buildings that makes up Jerusalem's old walled city.

However, the entrance gate to the Roman road and a few yards of paving have been excavated near the city's Damascus Gate and it is now the oldest paved path in use in Jerusalem. Older street stones uncovered on the site of the Cardo, the one street followed to Calvary, but these have not been made into a continuous paved path.

The Byzantines built their own extension of the Roman Cardo, but it gradually disappeared under centuries of destruction and rebuilding, and was only uncovered when

the Israelis, having captured the walled city from Jordan in 1967, began rehabilitating the Jewish Quarter.

The Cardo's existence first came to light in 1884 when a mosaic map of the Holy Land was uncovered on the floor of a Byzantine Church in Madaba, Jordan. The Cardo was marked by a black strip through the center of the map, but archaeologists saw little chance that it could be found.

However, 78-year-old Dr. Nahman Avigad, the archaeologist who dug up the ancient Jewish Quarter, persisted in searching for the Cardo, and finally uncovered it. He also found remains of the ancient Babylonian and Roman walls around Jerusalem.

These walls, deep below the Cardo, can be seen through grill-covered chimneys embedded in the street. Also on display are Babylonian spearsheads and stone missiles from a Roman catapult. The weapons, found in the ruins, were believed to have served the Babylonians in 586 B.C. and the Romans in A.D. 70, during the two sieges of Jerusalem in which the Jewish Temples were destroyed.

Several pillars with Corinthian capitals from a covered colonnade have been recovered and erected in an open courtyard on the road. They are 15 feet high and the road 33 feet wide. The road was twice as wide when built, but cannot be fully uncovered lest the upper city cave in.

Entry to the Byzantine Cardo is through an archway that shuts the Arab market. The Jewish Quarter was partially destroyed and taken over by Arab families following the 1949 partitioning of Jerusalem. After 1967, the Israelis cleared out

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